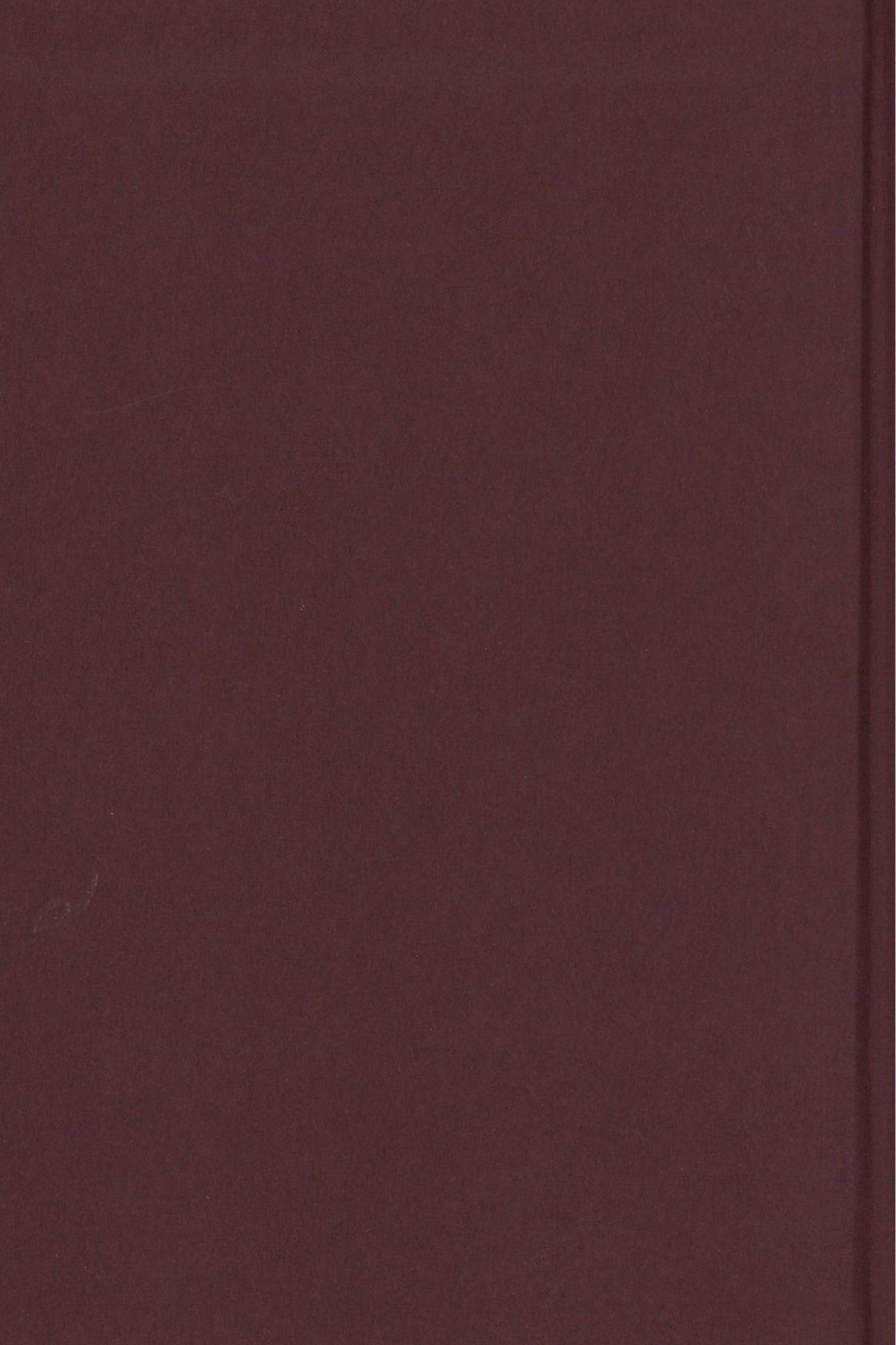
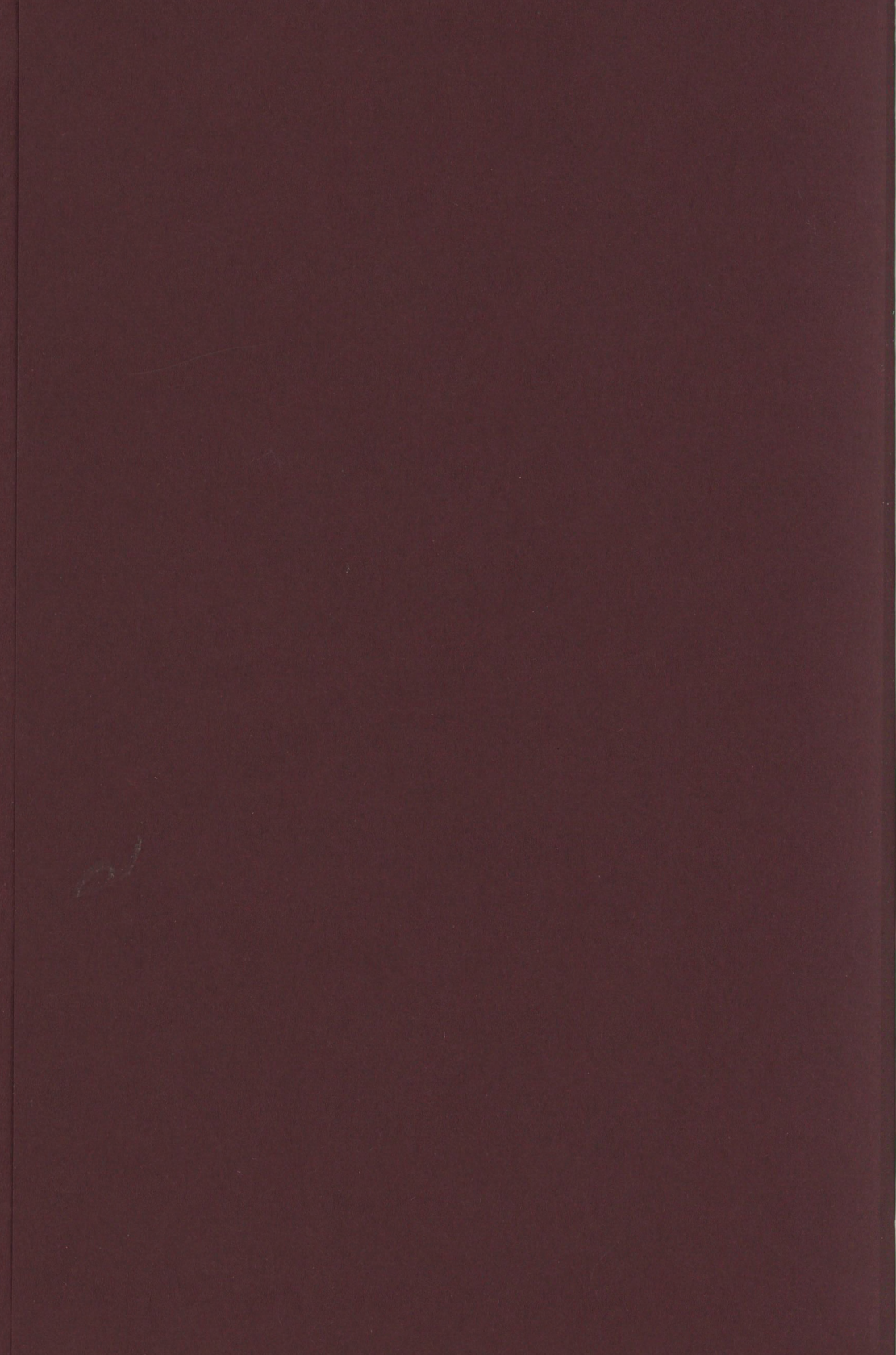


When seventeen, ^{more}
by mother's wishes
for the occupation
a man for three
rentice to the black
aving but little
as a tradesman



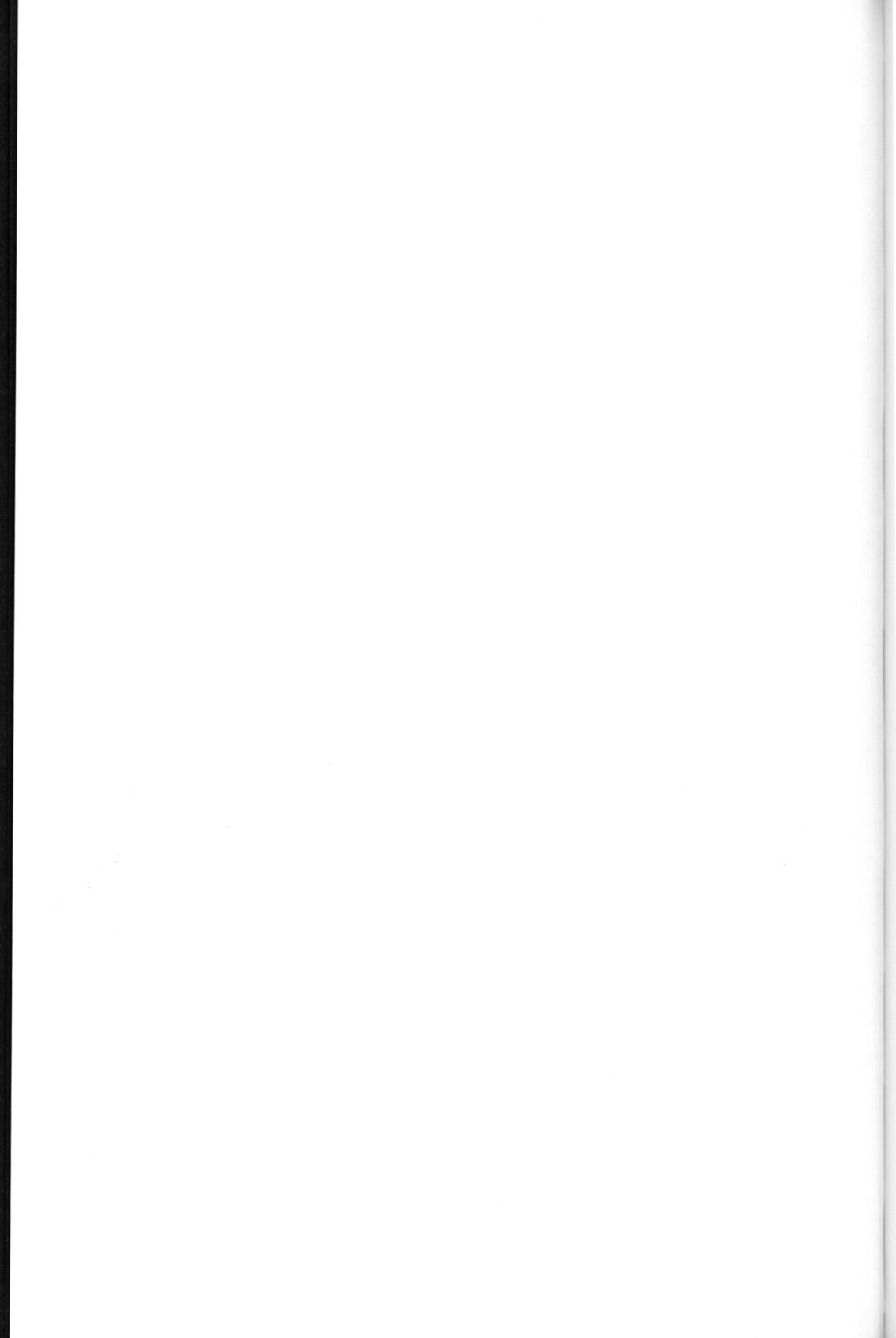


This edition of

History's Apprentice:
The Diaries of B. H. Roberts,
1880-1898

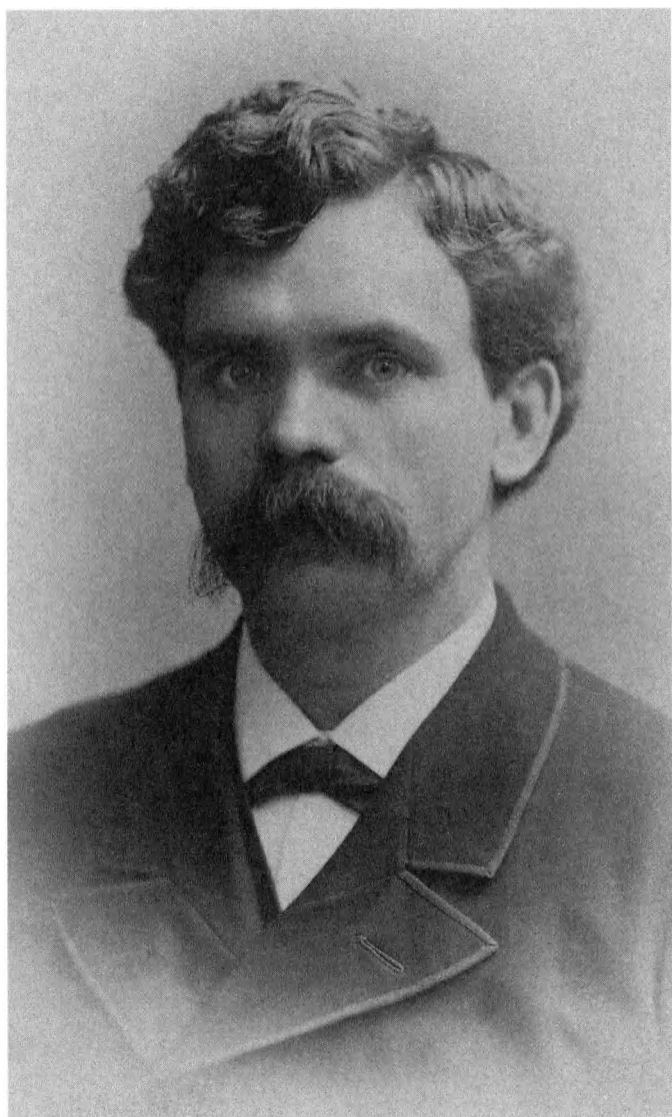
is strictly limited to
five hundred copies,
of which this is copy number

418 / 500



HISTORY'S
APPRENTICE

The
DIARIES
of
B. H. ROBERTS,
1880-1898



R. H. Roberts

**HISTORY'S
APPRENTICE**

The
DIARIES
of
B. H. ROBERTS,
1880-1898

**Edited by
John Sillito**

**Signature Books
in association with
Smith Research Associates
Salt Lake City, 2004**

Frontispiece: Brigham Henry Roberts in his
twenties, photo by "Brown, Barnes & Bell,
Photographers to the Queen," ca. 1886.
Courtesy LDS Church Archives

©2004 Signature Books Publishing, LLC.
All rights reserved. Signature Books is a registered
trademark of Signature Books Publishing, LLC.
Printed in the United States of America.

Printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Roberts, B. H. (Brigham Henry), 1857-1933.

History's apprentice : the diaries of B. H. Roberts /
[edited] by John Sillito.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-56085-173-2

1. Roberts, B. H. (Brigham Henry), 1857-1933—Diaries.
2. Mormons—Utah—Diaries. I. Sillito, John R. II. Title.

BX8695.R58A3 2004

289.3'092—dc22

[B]

2004048142

for
Everett L. Cooley
and Ferdinand T. Johnson
with appreciation for providing
my apprenticeship

*Table
of*

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	xi
Introduction	xv
Photographs	xlvi
THE DOCUMENTS	
I. Iowa and Tennessee, 1880-1881	3
II. Tennessee and Home Again, 1882	75
III. Acting President of the Southern States Mission, 1883	105
IV. The Exodus from Tennessee, 1884	145
V. Travels in Central Utah, 1885	163
VI. A Fugitive in England, 1886-1887	185
VII. A Fondness for Colorado, 1890	203
VIII. Stumping in Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming, 1891-1892	219
IX. Impressions of Mexico and the Border States, 1893	241
X. Settling into Normalcy in Utah, 1898	309
Maps	321
Index	329

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I appreciate the generosity of the University of Utah's Marriott Library for allowing me to publish the diaries covering the years from 1882 through 1893. The diaries were donated to the university in 1979 and 1981 by Adele W. Parkinson, Virginia D. Roberts, and Thom Roberts. In addition to providing me with copies of the diaries, Dr. Greg Thompson, Walter Jones, and the Special Collections staff assisted my research in every way. For those who are interested in Utah and the West, the Marriott Library is a supportive and rewarding place to spend time.

Similarly, I appreciate the willingness of the Family and Church History Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to allow publication of the years 1880-81 and 1898, two key diaries which were discovered well after I had begun work on the others. By giving me the chance to include them, this annotated collection is more complete and valuable. Again, the staff, both in the church library and in the archives, were extraordinarily helpful, often going the extra mile to assist in answering vexing and mundane questions. While I do not wish to slight anyone who has been helpful, particular thanks to Ron Watt, Randy Dixon, Bill Slaughter, Jeff Johnson, and Steve Sorenson. These are longtime acquaintances and friends, but more importantly, they are true professionals who know how to make the research process fruitful and enjoyable.

At the same time, other archivists and librarians literally from

around the world have responded to requests for information. In the process, they have ferreted out important details and listened to me explain Roberts and the significance of his diaries well beyond the level to which anyone should be subjected. While I cannot identify all who helped, I have not forgotten them, and their assistance is imbedded in this publication to the degree that whatever value the annotation has is due in large part to their assistance. I hope that they will be pleased with the product.

An invaluable source of information and perspective came from family memories related to me by my colleague at Weber State University, Dr. Richard Roberts. His father, Harold Roberts, was born to B. H. and Celia Dibble Roberts in 1890. Although Richard was born shortly before his grandfather died and was the last baby blessed by B. H. Roberts, he continues the legacy of scholarship as an author and teacher and has served in the Utah National Guard, as his grandfather did. He has also maintained an ongoing interest in his grandfather's life and legacy. In addition, former Utah governor Calvin L. Rampton, grandson of one of B. H.'s brothers-in-law and friends, shared memories that helped me see Roberts as a real person rather than as someone existing only within the pages of a diary. Roberts left a vivid impression on Rampton that is undiminished over the seventy years since the former's death. Moreover, Lynn Pulsipher has been supportive and encouraging, and I appreciate his interest and help. He has played an important role by keeping many of Roberts's lesser-known writings in print. John McCormick and I have been friends and collaborators for years, and while John has not been particularly involved in this project, my attention has been diverted from our project of documenting the history of Utah socialism. Now that this book is finished, I trust we can get back to that study.

I would like to believe that B. H. Roberts himself would have approved of this publication and would be pleased to know that his insights were becoming available to a wider audience. Hopefully, he would have agreed with my interpretations where I have added supplementary information. Roberts clearly intended for his record to be read by those who would come after him. I am not tied by blood (although Roberts is a family name), but he and I have enjoyed each other's company over the past few years—figuratively, of course—as I have pored over his diaries.

Finally, my colleagues at Weber State University's Stewart Library have lived through this journey with Roberts almost as intimately as I have. The staff of the Archives and Special Collections—Patti Umscheid, Sarah Langsdon, Briana Beckstrand, and Joy Hunt—have picked up the slack where my distracted mind was dwelling on events that happened a century earlier. Thanks to Melissa Johnson and Jessica Johnson, student assistants without peer, whose help was invaluable. Dr. Kathy Payne, the library's head of reference, offered essential assistance in locating obscure facts, making the annotations more complete and valuable. University Librarian Joan Hubbard has been an understanding champion of this particular project and of my scholarship generally. In tangible ways, the university itself assisted at crucial times by providing research support and a much needed sabbatical leave. Heartfelt thanks to them all.

The staff at Signature Books has been enthusiastically supportive and patient, flexible, and generally of good cheer. They have all played an important role; Gary Bergera and Ron Priddis deserve particular thanks for their assistance. I am pleased to call this remarkable group of publishing professionals my colleagues and friends.

The book is dedicated to two individuals who took a chance on a young man more than thirty years ago thinking he might have a future in the archival world. They not only gave me a job, they helped me hone my craft, gave me opportunities to learn and grow, and sent me for specialized training knowing full well that it would probably lead me to pursue my career elsewhere. My professional life would have taken a much different path without their support and nurturing.

On a personal level, what more can I say to Linda, Melissa, Rob, and Cynthia than simply one more inadequate expression of thanks for all you have taught me and all you continue to mean in my life.

Despite the best efforts of all those mentioned above in terms of assistance, support, and encouragement, whatever flaws exist in this publication are the result of my own shortcomings and imperfections.

JRS
Ogden, Utah
January 2004

INTRODUCTION

On 13 March 1882, a twenty-five-year-old from a small Utah town serving an LDS mission in rural Tennessee recorded the following plaintive confession:

Perhaps one-half of my life has passed away—and what have I done? But little of anything, either of good or evil; my misdeeds are like my talents—on the small order. I have made attempts to accomplish something in various directions, but “miserable failure” is written across the face of each of them. ...

I can but choose to regret the past when looking over it, but as I cannot call it back to amend it, or straighten out the crooks which appear in the path I have trod, I will look to the present and future, trying to profit by the experience of the past. ...

The author of this diary entry was of course B. H. Roberts, who would become a household name in some circles and would live a remarkably full and productive life by anyone’s standard but his own. In the half century between March 1882 and Roberts’s death in September 1933, his achievements surpassed those of most of his contemporaries in religion, politics, and scholarship. Still, he remained somewhat dissatisfied with himself and occasionally suffered bouts of depression.

After his mission, Roberts cut his teeth as a writer and opinion maker at the *Salt Lake Herald*, followed by an assignment as an editor of the church's overseas publication, the *Millennial Star*. Years later, his more mature histories and biographies would receive wide critical praise as the definitive works of LDS history and apologetics. In fact, these studies are still read today and continue to be held in high esteem.

Although largely self-educated, Roberts read the scholarly texts, polemics, and apologetics of his times. When he was in his twenties, he came to regard himself as someone destined for the world of literature, words, and ideas. His diaries show him to be the type who enjoyed an evening at home playing chess and reading Dante. Yet, he was also a man of action who was elected to the U. S. House of Representatives, although he was subsequently refused his Congressional seat because he was a practicing polygamist.

In many ways, Roberts represented a new generation of Mormons, born after the trials of Nauvoo, Illinois, and the trek to the Great Basin, who sought to understand and chronicle the historical and theological importance of their faith. As noted by Sterling McMurrin, like Roberts himself an important scholar of Mormon history and thought:

Roberts lived during a crucial period for Mormonism. The original prophetic and sectarian impulse was waning, the major feats of pioneering were accomplished, and the struggles with the federal government and their aftermath were taking a severe toll of human energy and threatening the economic and institutional life of the church. More than anything else, the church needed defenses that would justify its existence, establish its moral and intellectual responsibility, and guarantee its own integrity.¹

There were other issues, including the struggle for statehood, the creation of a different political culture in the state for both Mormons and Gentiles, and the challenges posed by science and secular thought. Roberts, McMurrin elaborated, "entered into the[se debates] with quite remarkable energy and dedication and with the self-assurance and determination of those whose commitment and faith are firm."²

¹ Sterling McMurrin, foreword, in Gary James Bergera, ed., *The Autobiography of B. H. Roberts* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), vii-xiv.

² *Ibid.*, ix.

Scholars of Roberts's life enjoy a fairly vast reservoir of sources for understanding this complex, contradictory, and gifted man. To begin with, there is *The Autobiography of B. H. Roberts*, edited by Gary James Bergera.³ Roberts composed this reminiscence in the last year of his life, dictating 473 double-spaced pages to his secretary, Elsa Cook. He apparently consulted his diaries during the dictation. Where he referred to himself in third person, Bergera standardized the voice and smoothed out some of the punctuation to provide a more coherent and readable book. As Bergera noted, the autobiography is valuable but not without problems.

Although it is not as definitive or thorough as one would hope for, the autobiography does reveal some of the complexity of the man. For example, Roberts insisted that he loved his mother deeply, yet it is apparent that he was "devastated as a child when she abandoned him" and that "Roberts's later relationships with women, especially his three wives ... were probably colored by the conflicting emotions he felt toward his mother."⁴

Despite some errors of fact and detail which Bergera notes, the volume remains a "moving, insightful, sometimes painfully honest account ... of one of Mormonism's most important figures."⁵ From my perspective, Bergera paved the way for subsequent studies, while making my own job of editing the diaries much easier.

The same can be said of Truman Madsen's biography, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story*.⁶ With access to published and family sources and recollections from Roberts's associates and to at least some of these diaries, Madsen presents a fairly full picture of Roberts, arguing, in part, that Roberts's life was "a series of frustrated entitlements" wherein Roberts felt that he was "denied what he merited and had within his grasp."⁷ These frustrations are detailed, along with the personality quirks and predispositions on Roberts's part that helped create them, to demonstrate how this sense of unrealized entitlement emerged. On balance, I think that Madsen is correct that Roberts's ambitions were matched by the

³ See above.

⁴ Bergera, ed., *Autobiography of B. H. Roberts*, xvi.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Truman Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980).

⁷ Ibid., 384.

"tensions and sometimes the paradoxes of his personality." Indeed, just consider the origins of the self-educated street waif who came to be such a polished writer and scholar, as well as the fact that, as a boy, Roberts experienced privations and saw the raw side of humanity. One begins to understand the older man and the genteel world of books and ideas he had adopted but was not born to. Early on, Roberts exhibited signs of physical strength, accentuated by his apprenticeship as a blacksmith, but suffered chronic ailments such as migraines, diabetes, and depression. He had seen the destructive influence of alcohol when he was young and then spent a lifetime struggling against the same vice. In short, Roberts was never able to completely shed the baggage of his origins, however hard he tried to reinvent himself.

Of Roberts's voluminous writings, his best known include *The Life of John Taylor* (1892), *Outlines of Ecclesiastical History* (1893), *The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo* (1900), and a three-volume *New Witnesses for God* (1895-1911).⁸ He produced the much acclaimed historical records of Mormonism, the seven-volume *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (1902-12) and the six-volume *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (1930). Moreover, his posthumous works are important to any discussion of his written legacy: *Studies of the Book of Mormon*⁹ and *The Truth, the Way, the Life*.¹⁰

Brigham D. Madsen, editor of *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, accurately calls Roberts's interest in Mormon scripture a lifetime obsession. Evidence of this is contained in these diaries. In February 1881, Roberts engaged in a series of debates with the Rev. A. H. Alsup "of the Campbellite faith" to consider the charge that "the teachings of Mormonism contradict the Common Bible known as the King James Version."

⁸ The first volume was published in 1895 as *A New Witness for God* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons). The second two volumes were published as lesson manuals for the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association in 1903 and 1904, then all published together in 1911 as *New Witnesses for God* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News).

⁹ B. H. Roberts, *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, ed. Brigham D. Madsen (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

¹⁰ Published in two separate editions, B. H. Roberts, *The Truth, the Way, the Life: An Elementary Treatise on Theology* (1927-28), ed. John W. Welch (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1994); B. H. Roberts, *The Truth, the Way, the Life: An Elementary Treatise on Theology; The Masterwork of B. H. Roberts*, ed. Stan Larson (San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1994).

Over the course of the next four days, Roberts and Alsup debated this question for a total of fourteen hours. Roberts's efforts not only received attention in the local press in Tennessee, and were talked about by Mormons and non-Mormons alike, but were reported by Roberts and published in a letter to the editor of the *Deseret News*.

Similarly, Roberts indicates on 20 November 1884 that he spent the day studying scripture in preparation for a discourse on the Book of Mormon that evening. He calls the subject "intensely interesting" and argues that the "amount of evidence one can bring forth to prove its Divine Authenticity is considerable." Moreover, in the same entry, Roberts comments that "I have always observed when speaking on this subject I have enjoyed great liberty of spirit[,] perhaps more than when speaking on any other subject."

Roberts's interest in the Book of Mormon did not diminish over time. He chaired the manual committee of the Mutual Improvement Associations and personally wrote some manuals that marshaled evidence in support of Mormonism's central scriptural work. In Brigham Madsen's words, Roberts believed that "proving the Mormon scripture true was, after all, the proper job of a Mormon theologian."¹¹

In the 1920s, Roberts requested and received permission from church president Heber J. Grant to explore more thoroughly a number of issues pertaining to the Book of Mormon. While not published in his lifetime, Roberts's work circulated in limited form until it was brought together in a comprehensive collection in the mid-1980s. Its appearance created a stir and a difference of opinion among students of Roberts.

Some held, with Brigham Madsen, that Roberts had identified "internal contradictions and other defects" which could suggest that the Book of Mormon "might not be of divine origin."¹² Madsen and others deduced that Roberts had changed his mind on the traditional view of the book's origin. Other scholars, equally forcefully, asserted that the important body of public statements by Roberts over the last decade of his life would lead one to a different conclusion.

The question may never be answered conclusively. Yet, anyone

¹¹ Madsen, ed., *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, 13.

¹² *Ibid.*, 30.

assessing Roberts will recognize, along with Brigham Madsen, Roberts's

fierce independence, his forthright honesty, his deeply imbedded integrity, and above all, his fearless willingness to follow wherever his reason led him. He could be abrasive in his defense of stubbornly held beliefs, but he had the capacity to change his views when confronted with new and persuasive evidence.¹³

Roberts's other major work, *The Truth, the Way, the Life*, was published in two separate editions in 1994. According to McMurrin, Roberts considered this "to be the crowning achievement" of his life. In reality, McMurrin wrote, the manuscript was "a summary" of Roberts's "theological work, setting forth in considerable detail, and often with extensive commentaries, his understanding of the basic doctrines of the LDS Church."¹⁴

In the words of Stan Larson, who edited one of the publications of *The Truth, the Way, the Life*, Roberts made the "life and mission of Jesus the Christ" the central theme of his book. In so doing, Roberts nevertheless reordered the phrasing of John 14:6¹⁵ and gave preeminence to truth over "the way" of salvation. Accordingly, the book "summarized and synthesized the distinctive doctrines of Mormonism" by seeking first to illuminate the truths of the world and the importance of revelation, followed by the way of salvation and eternal life for all people, and lastly the life of Christ and the nature of Christian witness.

On two occasions, surveys of Mormon academics have named Roberts the most "eminent intellectual" of the LDS tradition.¹⁶ Coming so many years after Roberts's death, the surveys confirm the enduring relevance of Roberts's writings, at least for scholars. Professor McMurrin commented, when the two editions of *The Truth, the Way, the Life* were published, that it seemed to signal that the ideas Roberts had raised were being brought "to the full atten-

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Larson, ed., *The Truth, the Way, the Life*, xiii. See note 10.

¹⁵ When asked by Thomas, "How can we know the way," the scriptures record that "Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh to the Father but by me."

¹⁶ See Stan Larson, "Intellectuals in Mormonism: An Update," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Fall 1993): 187-89.

tion” of another generation “seriously inquiring into the nature and meaning of Mormonism.”¹⁷

For anyone who can identify with the spirit of that statement, there are other resources they may want to consult to better understand Roberts’s views. These include Brigham D. Madsen’s *The Essential B. H. Roberts*¹⁸ and Lynn Pulsipher’s compilation of historical and theological writings in two volumes: *Scrapbook: B. H. Roberts*.¹⁹ In addition to these, Chad Flake’s path breaking *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830-1930*²⁰ and *Studies in Mormon History, 1830-1997: An Indexed Bibliography* by James B. Allen, Ronald W. Walker and David J. Whittaker²¹ contain bibliographical data and clues for finding additional material on similar topics.

ABOUT ROBERTS

Before discussing the diaries themselves, it may be helpful to review Roberts’s life. He was born Brigham Henry Roberts on 13 March 1857 in Warrington, Lancashire, England, to Benjamin and Ann Everington Roberts.²² His parents were converts to Mormonism, but Ann’s commitment was stronger than Benjamin’s. This, along with Benjamin’s “intemperate habits and wild craving for independence,” convinced Ann to leave her husband and immigrate to the United States in 1862. Taking two of her children, Annie and baby son Thomas, who died on the trek west, she left her teenage

¹⁷ Madsen, ed., *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, xxv.

¹⁸ Brigham D. Madsen, ed., *The Essential B. H. Roberts*, Classics in Mormon Thought Series No. 6. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999).

¹⁹ Lynn Pulsipher, comp., *Scrapbook: B. H. Roberts*, 2 vols. (Provo, Utah: Pulsipher Publishing, 1989, 1991).

²⁰ Chad Flake, *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830-1930* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1978).

²¹ James B. Allen, Ronald W. Walker, and David J. Whittaker, eds., *Studies in Mormon History, 1830-1897: An Indexed Bibliography* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

²² Benjamin Roberts was born on 3 May 1826 in Kent, England, to William and Mary Roberts. Ann Reed Everington was born on 18 December 1826 in Norfolk, England, to William and Elizabeth Reed Everington. Benjamin and Ann married on 15 June 1848 in Middlesex, England. In addition to Brigham Henry, the couple had five other children. Three of the six died before they reached the age of five. It is unclear when the Robertses divorced, but Benjamin died in 1898 and Ann died in Bountiful, Davis County, Utah, on 15 January 1910.

daughter, Mary ("Polly"), with a relative, Martin Pye, and five-year-old Brigham ("Harry") with a Mormon couple named Tovey.²³

All was not well for the Roberts children, especially since the two families lacked the means to support them. Polly earned her keep working at the kiln that Pye operated. Harry's life was even more Dickensian. He said he was barely fed and clothed and worked alongside Mr. Tovey in the stone sawyer trade where he learned to prepare sand for marble polishing and to carry a water bucket on his head. At the end of a tiring day, he came home to a scanty meal and slept on a bare floor with no covers.

Over the years, the privations continued. The Toveys tried several times to rid themselves of their young burden by apprenticing him or signing him up to be a drummer boy in the army. Each time, Harry ran away until the threat had passed and then returned home. In good times, Mrs. Tovey read out loud to him the dramatic stories of the martyred prophet Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum. Roberts said that this opened to him the world of books and history and sparked his life-long passion for literature. Eventually, local Mormons procured the means through the church's Perpetual Emigration Fund to rescue Harry and Polly from their circumstances. The children departed from Liverpool for America in April 1866 on board the *John Bright*.

Two months later, on 6 June, Roberts was in Old Castle Gardens on the upper bay of New York harbor, waiting along with a large "company of Mormon emigrants" to "embark [on] the zig-zag route across the United States, through Canada, for the distant valley of Salt Lake, Utah." More than sixty-five years later while dictating his autobiography, this scene and the emotions surrounding it were still vivid in Roberts's mind:

I was a boy of no prepossessing appearance. In the first place I was clad in just a pair of barn-door trousers and jacket (made from the old trousers of an English policeman), a pair of iron-rimmed wooden clogs, and on my head was what was supposed to be a jaunty Scotch cap, faced with bright plaid around the rim and ending in two black streamers behind—a headgear I heartily despised. ... On the whole I was stolid, and sober-faced. There was no joy in boyhood in my appearance, no disposition to mill round with the seven hundred other

²³ Robert identifies the man as John, but his wife's name seems to be lost to history. Sometimes John used the surname Gaily, apparently as a cover.

emigrants thronging the Old Castle Gardens. I seemed to be without companions and [they] doubtless would have been repulsed by me if they [had] manifested friendliness. I was a boy evidently accustomed to being alone—apart from the throng. I was not restless, but rather solemn and gloomy.²⁴

In mid-July that same year, Harry and Polly joined William Henry Chipman's wagon train west and arrived in Great Salt Lake Valley two months later. The memory again remained distinct in Roberts's mind as he recalled that "the train, falling into its old line, swung down the low foothills until they struck a well-defined road leading into the city." As Captain Chipman's immigrants traveled down "Emigration Street" (today's Third South) and turned onto Main Street, young Harry found himself

at the head of the lead yoke in that team, walking up the principal street of the city, the rest of the team following. Here the people had turned out to welcome the plains-worn emigrants and were standing on the street sides to greet them. ... Along the road, ... I saw ... a bright-colored, dainty, charming little girl approaching me in the middle of the street. It was a strange meeting, we two.²⁵

Though the "dainty little lady" was timid in approaching Harry, who by his own admission was an "ugly duckling" and unkempt—his clothes ill fitting and with a shock of "unmanageable" hair—she offered him a fruit basket of peaches, plums, and grapes. Roberts took what he supposed was a "reasonable portion," shared them with his sister, and then resumed his place at the front of the train and "marched on until the head of Main Street was reached."²⁶ It is a captivating, illuminating scene. One senses that for the first time in his life, despite a few anxious moments while his mother tried to locate him and his sister, Roberts was finally at home. This sense of belonging, geographically and spiritually, marked him the rest of his life. Despite the conflicts, defeats, and disappointments he would encounter, he was at core a Latter-day Saint and a Utahn, even if by adoption rather than by birth.

The siblings accompanied their mother to her small, unfin-

²⁴ Bergera, ed., *Autobiography of B. H. Roberts*, 3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 40.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 41.

ished house in Bountiful, north of Salt Lake City. During their absence, she had married English convert John William Nichols (1821-1865) and had given birth to another daughter, Elizabeth Audrey, then her husband had died in a farm accident and she was left to raise Elizabeth and Annie alone. A year later, a new stepfather, Seth Dustin, baptized Harry into the LDS faith. Despite the financial stability Dustin contributed to the family, the union proved as ill fated as Ann's other marriages. From the beginning, Harry felt uncomfortable in his new family around Dustin's "grown-up sons who were ignorant in their manners [and] boisterous in their conduct."²⁷ He worked for his stepfather grading a railroad bed between Salt Lake City and Ogden—learning how to handle an ox team and grader and proving himself adept at doing "the work of a man." His wages were applied to the Perpetual Emigration Fund for "passage from England to Utah."²⁹

Henry²⁸ also accompanied his stepfather in search of coal in the Wasatch Mountains and prospecting for silver in Dry Canyon near Ophir. Roberts learned the ways of miners, including fights, gun play, profanity, gambling, and "the company of men ... of very irregular habits."³⁰ He was again in the presence of the demon alcohol which had previously trapped his father, the Toveys, and others in his life, unaware that it would become a frequent companion of his own in the future. After resisting offers to imbibe, he remembered that it was near sunset one day when he

yielded to the solicitation and drank a half tin cup full of the fiery liquor. Its effect upon me, unpracticed in that kind of beverage, can be imagined. I was soon in the swirl of intoxication, with a reckless dare-devil spirit that had been awakened.³¹

²⁷ Ibid., 48.

²⁸ Roberts was known as "Harry" or Henry, in later years as "B. H.," and signed his letters to his mother as either "Harry" or "Brig." See, e.g., Roberts to Ann Dustin, 25 April 1883, 29 October 1884, box 3, folders 7, 8, B. H. Roberts Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

²⁹ Bergera, ed., *Autobiography of B. H. Roberts*, 47. Officially created in 1849 by Brigham Young, the Perpetual Emigration Fund (PEF) assisted immigrants, who were in turn expected to repay the fund, thus making it perpetual. Indications are that the PEF assisted over 50,000 immigrants in the period from 1849 to 1887 when it was dissolved by the Edmunds Tucker Act, which dissolved the church as a corporation.

³⁰ Ibid., 48.

³¹ Ibid.

Drunk and out of control, Harry mounted a “scarcely broken three year old colt” and challenged his co-workers to a race until his horse bucked him off and the men dumped him in a wagon to sleep it off. In the morning his companions advised him to treat his hang-over with the “hair of the dog that bit him.” He declined. Over the next few months, Roberts found himself in the company of the likes of “one Ben Tasker, a somewhat noted Utah outlaw.”³²

At some point, Roberts decided to turn his life around and accepted an apprenticeship with a Centerville blacksmith, James Baird. This allowed him to associate with boys of better upbringing at the Young Men’s Club of Centerville, a forerunner of the Young Mens Mutual Improvement Association. He not only found better companionship, the club also had a sizeable library of historical and theological volumes. Over time, intellectual pursuits began to replace the tendency to live life on the margins. Before long, Roberts was attending the University of Deseret in Salt Lake City; courting, then marrying Sarah Louisa Smith, the daughter of a prominent Davis County family; and teaching school in Centerville. In the wake of changes, Roberts received a call to serve his first mission, which was the initial step in a long career of church service.

The diaries cover the years 1880 through 1898 when Roberts moved from Davis County to his first mission in Tennessee, his subsequent missions to the South and England, his career in history and writing for the LDS church, a call to be an LDS General Authority, and an active political life. Roberts applied his talent for writing at the *Salt Lake Herald* and then at the *Millennial Star*. Upon returning from England, he edited the church’s youth magazine, the *Contributor*. His decisions during this period took him on a path that eventually saw a dozen solid historical and doctrinal works find their way into print.

In his position as a church leader, Roberts became a tireless defender of the faith, as suggested by the title of Truman Madsen’s biography. Nowhere was this more evident than in his defense of polygamy and his own practice of it. He married Louisa Smith in 1878, then married two other women: Celia Dibble in 1884 and Margaret Shipp in 1890 or 1891. He escaped federal prosecution for polygamy in 1886 by jumping bail and escaping to England for

³² Madsen, *Defender of the Faith*, 76.

two years. Immediately upon his return in 1888, he was called to the First Quorum of Seventy. A little over a half year later, he served his six-month sentence at the Utah Territorial Prison.

While Roberts was on the First Council of Seventy, he began supporting the fledgling Utah Democratic party, which brought him into conflict with some members of the church hierarchy who favored the Republicans. He nevertheless continued his political activity, serving as a delegate to the Utah Constitutional Convention in 1895—leading the anti-suffrage forces at the convention—and running unsuccessfully for Congress in 1895, again as a Democrat. Three years later, Roberts ran again and this time won the U.S. Congressional seat, although he was prevented from assuming office because he was a practicing polygamist. For the rest of his life, he continued to champion the Democratic cause. It was this three-fold identity as church leader, writer, and politician that comprised his overall career until his death on 27 September 1933.

A FEW TERMS

In order to fully appreciate the diaries, readers will need to know some of the terms that were current in Roberts's day, as well as some of the nomenclature of Mormonism. I have explained some terms in the annotations, but an overview of the names of the books of Mormon scripture, the titles of church officials, and the basic administrative organization of the LDS church may prove helpful to some readers.³³

Roberts makes reference to the three sources of LDS church doctrine—the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Pearl of Great Price—in addition to the Bible, all of which are considered authoritative. Latter-day Saints see these four volumes as the inspired products of revelation. Roberts devoted considerable time to studying and commenting on these scriptures, and his previously mentioned works, *Studies of the Book of Mormon* and *The Truth, The Way, The Life*, represent his views on their contents and significance.³⁴

³³ In compiling this overview, I have relied greatly upon Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard O. Cowan, eds., *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), and Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992).

³⁴ A good, concise overview is found in Sterling M. McMurrin's biographical essay in Madsen, ed., *Studies of the Book of Mormon*.

Members of the church hierarchy are known as “General Authorities.” This term was first used in 1834 (Doctrine and Covenants 102:32), and in Roberts’s day the General Authorities were the First Presidency, the Presiding Patriarch to the Church, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, the First Council of Seventy, and the Presiding Bishopric.

The First Presidency consisted of the church president and his counselors, generally three individuals but often in Roberts’s day more than two counselors. The presidents of the church in Roberts’s lifetime were, in order of succession, Brigham Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow, Joseph F. Smith, and Heber J. Grant. Roberts worked closely with all except Young.

The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles is sometimes referred to as the Council of the Twelve or simply the Twelve. It was created within five years of the church’s founding when Joseph Smith ordained twelve close associates to serve as apostles in 1835. The Twelve oversaw missionary activity outside the areas where the church had been formally organized. In the wake of Smith’s martyrdom in 1844, the Twelve assumed the general church governance until Brigham Young was named president in 1847. Still, the prestige that had accrued to the Twelve during the interregnum persisted. On a personal level, the apostles exerted influence over Roberts as friends and colleagues and sometimes as opponents.

In 1835 Joseph Smith also instituted the office of “Seventy.” The First Quorum (later Council) of Seventy was presided over by seven presidents whose authority was equal to that of the Quorum of the Twelve (Doctrine and Covenants 107: 24-26), although with an emphasis on missionary work within, rather than outside of, the organized areas of the church. Subsequent quorums of Seventy—the 2nd Quorum of Seventy, the 3rd Quorum of Seventy, and so on—were organized throughout the church. Each quorum had a presidency which reported to the First Quorum of Seventy at church headquarters. Interestingly, these regional quorums, often consisting of only a handful of members in a given geographic area, acted independently of the ecclesiastical leaders in their areas—one reason why Roberts was often on the road visiting outlying areas. Roberts enjoyed his position as a General Authority and seemed to have found his place in the church in this role. He counted among the other six presidents of Seventy some of his closest friends and

associates, and he devoted considerable time to researching the office of the Seventy and defending it against intrusion from the Quorum of the Twelve.³⁵ Despite his efforts, the First Council of Seventy waned in influence during this time.

The Presiding Bishopric consisted of a Presiding Bishop and two counselors whose responsibility it was to look after the church's finances and physical property and to care for the poor. For most of Roberts's life, the bishops, in order of appointment, were Edward Hunter, William B. Preston, and C. W. Nibley. Roberts knew and worked closely with all of them.

During the period the diaries cover, the Presiding Patriarch to the Church was John Smith, a nephew of church founder Joseph Smith and known to be a man who smoked and drank coffee, contrary to the church's advice on such matters. Irene Bates and Gary Smith write that "John was not unlike the beloved J. Golden Kimball and B. H. Roberts who, as general authorities, struggled with the same problem" in regard to coffee. As with the First Council of Seventy, the patriarch slowly declined in status vis-a-vis the Quorum of the Twelve.³⁶

Administratively, the church consisted at the local level of "wards," which are the rough equivalent of a Catholic parish. In Roberts's time, wards were informally organized, defined geographically and presided over by a bishop who was often a prominent business or civic leader and who exerted influence over almost every aspect of a community's organization and social cohesion. The bishop was the most direct contact with the church hierarchy. Even so, the apostles and other General Authorities regularly visited the wards to expound on church doctrine and policy. A bishop and his two counselors comprise what is called a bishopric.

Above the wards are "stakes," each under the direction of a stake president and two counselors, the stake presidency. As with nineteenth-century bishops, stake presidents and their counselors

³⁵ Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 104; Sterling M. McMurrin, "Remembering B. H. Roberts," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Fall 1993): 74; Richard D. Ouellette, "Seventies Quorums: 1835-1986," *Sunstone*, January 1987, 35-38.

³⁶ Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 134-42.

frequently served missions, sometimes multiple missions, without losing their ecclesiastical position at home. Some of the General Authorities served as stake presidents and commuted to church headquarters for quorum meetings.

In addition to the various ecclesiastical divisions within the church, there were also auxiliary organizations which occupied much of Roberts's attention, especially the Mutual Improvement Association (MIA). In 1871 the Young Ladies Department of the Cooperative Retrenchment Association was formed to answer a call from Brigham Young for young women to "retrench" in dress, speech, and diet. There was concern for the young men, as well, and President Young appointed Junius F. Wells to organize the YMMIA in 1875. Beginning in Salt Lake City's Thirtieth Ward, fifty-seven young men's associations were organized throughout the church within one year. Church membership at the time stood at about 1,200. As a friend of Wells, Roberts was involved with the YMMIA almost from its inception.

ROBERTS'S FAMILIES

A note about Roberts's families. He had fifteen children by two of his three wives. He married his first wife, Sarah Louisa Smith, when he was a few weeks short of his twenty-first birthday. Louisa, the daughter of William Reed and Emeline Leavitt Smith, gave birth to seven children: Adah (1879-1946), Thomas (1881-1881), Benjamin (1883-1954), Louisa Emeline, (1886-1941), Luna (1889-?), Hortense (1891-?), and Katharine (1892-1935). She preceded her husband in death by nearly a decade on 21 May 1923.

Roberts's second wife, Celia Ann Dibble, married him on 2 October 1884 in Salt Lake City. She was the daughter of Philo and Antoinette Cleveland Dibble, born on 3 August 1864 in Centerville. The couple had eight children: Lena (1885-1898), Harold (1890-1982), Hazel (1893-1962), Naola (1895-1953), Georgiana (1897-1970), Joanna (1897-1963), David (1902-1969), and Lawrence (1902-1982). She outlived her husband by nearly three years and died on 21 March 1936 in Centerville, where she is buried.

The marriage to Margaret Curtis Shipp, Roberts's third wife, occurred either in April 1890, according to some, or 1891 after the Manifesto, according to others. Born on 17 December 1849, Margaret had been previously married to Milford B. Shipp and had

four living children.³⁷ She was seven years Roberts's senior and was held in esteem in the community as a physician, having studied in the East and obtained a degree in obstetrics. Of all his wives, Roberts seemed to prefer Margaret's company and conversation, and this created some trouble with Roberts's other families—although B. H. continued to have children by his other wives. Indeed, Celia's two sets of twins—Georgiana and Joanna and David and Lawrence—were delivered by Margaret.³⁸ B. H. and Margaret would not have children. She died on 13 March 1926.

THE DIARIES

The diaries in this volume are held in two repositories, as previously noted. Many of the diaries relate to activities and thoughts for only part of a year, and there are gaps in the record within and between the diaries. Nor do the journals record every key event in Roberts's life. For example, the 1884 diary does not cover the period when two Mormon elders and two church members were murdered in Cane Creek, Tennessee, or Roberts's effort to obtain the missionaries' bodies and return them home for a proper burial. The fact that there is no diary for 1890 makes it difficult to determine when Roberts married his third plural wife. Because the 1898 diary stops early in the year, we are denied his thoughts as he ran for, and was elected to, the U.S. House of Representatives. On the other hand, the years from late 1880 through mid-1882 and the year 1893 are chronicled in some detail. It is worthwhile to consider the diaries in the context of their individual formats.

The diary entries for 1880-81 are contained within a 6½- by 4-inch maroon leather volume stamped "Ledger" in gold on the front cover. The pages are five-column ruled, preceded by a few pages with letters of the alphabet on tabs. Roberts began with the tabbed sheets and continued uninterrupted through 178 pages. A photograph of the first page of this diary (see photograph section) will give readers an idea of Roberts's writing and legibility which

³⁷ Margaret's children were Walter (1869-1914), Carl (1872-1873), Milfordetta (1874-1964), Louisa (1876-1914), Margaret (1878-1893), Morgan (1880-1881), Gross (1882-1883), Wallace (1883-1888), and Theodore (1885-1889).

³⁸ Millie Neville Holyoak, "Dr. Margaret Roberts: A Biography," photocopy of typescript in my possession.

varied from volume to volume, as well as of the kinds of books Roberts adapted for his use.

For the years 1882-83, a brown leather ledger measuring approximately 5 by 8 inches was utilized. The volume includes a written price of 75 cents and the title "Diary—January 1, 1882—of B. H. Roberts, Tennessee." Roberts labored in Tennessee through 15 May 1882, and this diary continues the period covered in the first volume. Roberts arrived home in mid-May, and neglected to make entries for a short while, but introduced a brief retrospective summary and then resumed daily entries again on 29 March 1883. The journal includes prayers, quotations, and poetry and ends abruptly with an entry dated 17 October 1883.

A small, 3½- by 5-inch black, leather-bound volume with "Record" stamped in silver contains the entries from 4 October 1884 to 6 March 1885. Roberts signed the first page and added the notation "Centerville, Utah, 1884 & 1885." Unlike the volume containing the account of 1882-1883, this small book has printed page numbers. The writing begins on page 1 with an entry for 4 October and continues through 27 November. After skipping pages 72-94, Roberts resumed his daily entries on 26 January 1885. The diary ends abruptly on 6 May 1885.

The brief notes for 1886 and 1887 are found in another small, 4- by 6¾-inch, black, leather-bound volume. This diary is labeled on its first page, "Journal, 1886-87," and is not paginated. It contains many blank pages and non-diary accounts and four pages from a small notebook titled "The Scripture Testimony to the Christ: Especially the Testimony of St. John." One of the most interesting notations is on the last page: "Married Lena 23 Jan 1884 Wednesday Etc. She is 23 / 3d Aug '87." This seems to refer to Roberts's marriage to Celia Ann ("Lena") Dibble, although the traditionally accepted date was 2 October rather than 23 January 1884. Roberts correctly identifies her twenty-third birthday as 3 August 1887.

The years from 1890 to 1893 are contained in one volume measuring 5½ by 8½ inches, a maroon, leather-bound, paginated book with the word "Record" in gold letters on the front. The account begins on page 5 with an entry for 3 November 1890 and runs to page 28, the entry for 11 December 1890. Without skipping a page, Roberts then began a retrospective for 1891-1892, noting that he had

commenced this entry on 10 February 1893. The narrative runs to page 54, where Roberts skipped a page and a half for quotations on political topics from church leaders he had apparently intended to include. The retrospective continues on pages 56 through 73. After skipping pages 74-100, the account for 1893 begins with an entry dated 15 January and continues with entries through page 217.

For 1 January through 4 February 1898, Roberts chose a 5¼-by 3¼-inch date book with printed pages for each day of the year but without pagination. It is a red leather volume with "Excelsior Diary, 1898" stamped in gold on the front. Roberts noted on the page marked 5 February that the "Journal ceases here, Rest of the Bk. devoted to scraps etc." Pages 6-7 February are missing. The rest of the volume is interesting because it contains Roberts's notes on everything from Julius Caesar to the Philippine Insurrection, revealing the breadth and depth of his interests. However, the entries are impersonal and lack interpretation, so they have not been included in this compilation.

In many ways, these diaries are the day-to-day record of the kinds of activities that any missionary of the day might have been involved in: tracting, visiting members, and worrying about home. The difference in proselytizing, then and now, is that in Roberts's day, instead of knocking on doors, he and his companions tended to book a public hall and post notices that they would be speaking and hope for a crowd, which more often than not materialized. In a pre-media era, people attended lectures, especially if they were promised a debate with a local minister. The elders also held informal meetings in the evenings at people's homes and otherwise seemed to have the daytime to themselves to read and prepare for evening appointments or walk to the next destination. This interesting view of nineteenth-century missionary work is augmented by Roberts's information about specific baptisms and the incipient church organization in the South, for which there is little other documentation.

Roberts is straightforward in his prose and only occasionally shares something of his feelings for his family, for instance. There are appropriate notes about his family's health and childbirths, much more staid in tone than his letters. For instance, when he had been away from his family for about two years, he wrote to Louisa on 10 February 1882 about an incident in Nashville:

After leaving our valises at the boarding house, we took a walk. As we were going round a corner, three ladies stepped in front of us: I noticed one of them was about your height, and as she turned her face to look across the street I caught a side view of her face—there was your nose, eyes, and mouth! [M]y breath came fast. I could scarcely keep from rushing forward and pressing her to my throbbing heart! [B]ut knowing you were far away in the west, I concluded it could not be you, so held my self; but I tell you now, it would hardly do for me to run on you unawares—it wouldn't do, wouldn't do.³⁹

Roberts included a short, romantic poem and said that his heart was filled with “joy and love,” that he missed his wife “much at twilight.” He was growing tired, he wrote, and was about to seek the solitude of his “lonely chouch [couch].” The letter is signed to his “two precious gems,” then more formally as “Yours Most Truly, B. H. Roberts.”

The most intimate information in the diaries concerns Roberts's dreams. He dutifully noted what he considered to be significant themes and mined them for insights and inspiration. One evening, he writes, he returned to his hotel and received a gruff reception from the hotel keeper, which reminded him that he had

dreamt the night before of fighting a snake, and it gave me some trouble, but I finally began hitting and it became smaller & smaller until it dwindled to nothing[,] and this man was this [dream] fulfilled, for he gave me some trouble but finally he sold himself and ceased to contend with us.⁴⁰

On another occasion, Roberts's dream contained “a snake, and a word of warning”:

Last night I dreamt that I was cut in various parts of my body. One large cut in my breast from which I could see the blood oozing out and flowing over my body. I awoke and asked for a repetition of my dream & the interpretation—this followed. I was walking along the road, I heard noises in the bushes, presently I heard the rattle of a snake and saw coming from behind a large stone a snake with two heads. I threw at it several times but did not seem to hurt it. I took up two stones and

³⁹ Roberts to Louisa, 10 February 1882, box 3, folder 3, Roberts Papers.

⁴⁰ See diary entry for 24 January 1881.

prepared to throw at him when I awoke. I shall be obliged to see what it means.

While Roberts did not specifically record the meaning of this dream, he made note of the troubles “raging on Spring Creek & Lick Creek” two days later. Informed that the Ku Klux Klan and others wanted to rid the county of Mormons, and having heard his friend Walter Weems say that nothing “but buck shot” would save the church members, Roberts decided to withdraw rather than risk throwing stones at a two-headed snake.

In addition to dreams, Roberts received premonitions that directed his activities in times of difficulty. On several occasions he recorded these promptings in his diary. They document not only his spirituality, but also his recurring depression, or melancholy, which marked his life, and how he dealt with it.

As we know from both the diaries and from other sources, Roberts was never far from alcohol. His father seems to have been a heavy drinker, as were the Toveys who had charge of him for four years. As Roberts recalled:

[N]otwithstanding their church membership, they [the Toveys] were both addicted to periodical heavy drinking, and as I afterwards remembered, most of their evenings were spent in country taverns and city saloons, ending frequently in absolute drunkenness. To these taverns and saloons, they dragged me with them, who curled up under the tables where the drinking went on and slept.⁴¹

Roberts took a drink when he was prospecting in Utah, as previously noted—beginning the most reckless period of his life. On 28 January 1881, as he recorded in his diary: “I feel bad because my old weakness still is not overcome, but I am still determined to overcome.” Two years later, in an entry dated 20 September 1883, he seemed to contradict himself when he noted that because he was “suffering much from headache,” he took a “dram of rye whiskey—the first I ever took while on a mission.” The whiskey deadened the pain, but Roberts was still suffering the next day and felt “about as ill as ever I was in my life.” After the elders administered to him, he “fell into a sleep ... from which I awoke much better, but far from well.”⁴²

⁴¹ Bergera, ed., *Autobiography of B. H. Roberts*, 10.

⁴² See diary entries, 28 January 1881 through 20-21 September 1883.

While the Toveys introduced Roberts to English drinking establishments, they opened another world to him, as well—one that became a major force in his life. One day, while hiking “through a beautiful country side of England” and resting with Mrs. Tovey in the “shade of a hedgerow,” Roberts noticed a few pages of a newspaper and

I rushed out and gathered them up and brought them to the old lady, begging her to read to me. And here should be said that this matter of the old lady reading to me was something of a passion with me. She read the scriptures to her husband when evenings were spent at home[,] and ... I listened, very often entranced. Sometimes the church paper called the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* was read. Somewhere about this time an anti-Mormon book was published in England, Samuel Mosheim Schmucker's *History of the Mormons*. ... [It] is usually conceded to be the fairest anti-Mormon account of Joseph Smith and the religion he founded that existed up to that time. His discussion of the martyrdom of the prophet at Carthage, Illinois, was vivid as also were the engravings illustrating it. This was a choice section of the book to me, and I pleaded frequently for it to be read to me. Old Mrs. Tovey was kind enough to do this.⁴³

And so began a largely self-taught education with an emphasis on literature and history. Roberts often mentions with pride the volumes he bought while traveling, the books he read, and the influence of ideas. He recorded extracts from the works of famous men (mostly omitted from this publication). In the LDS church archives, his personal library includes some thousand volumes with everything from theological treatises to partisan political broadsides. Moreover, the diaries contain a hint of another passion in his life: the desire to be a writer and the early evidence of his growing ability in this area.

Another interesting aspect of the diaries is the importance of travel, which was a pleasant byproduct of the mission experience. In the nineteenth century, proselytizing was the only means the LDS church had to increase the fold. But for Roberts, a mission, although clearly predicated on religious duty, provided an ongoing education that Roberts appreciated. One senses that while he missed hearth and home, he nevertheless enjoyed the camara-

⁴³ Bergera, ed., *Autobiography of B. H. Roberts*, 15.

derie, the diversity, and the excitement he experienced in England and elsewhere. The mission brought him close to culture and ideas which were unavailable in Davis County. While on his sojourns, he visited the homes of his favorite writers, toured historic sites, attended other churches' services, and enjoyed plays and musical performances. This gave him and other nineteenth-century missionaries a broader, if not always enlightened, worldview. In this regard, one need only compare his glowing accounts of England in 1887 with his condescending attitude for the unsophisticated and disorganized ways of some of the Mexicans he encountered in 1893. Arriving in El Valle, Chihuahua, at the end of a "most disagreeable day," he tried "with some difficulty" to arrange for lodging and supper:

It was getting dusk when I managed to make a dirty[,] half naked one eyed Mexican understand that I wanted supper. His wife ... got it for me. The supper itself was not so bad—eggs, beef stake & onion & peas, biscuit, beans—a staple in this country & black coffee, and if I did not see the cook preparing it I should doubtless have eaten it with a relish, but the black, bare footed, one eyed repulsive Mexican thro[ugh] whom I had ordered it insisted upon waiting upon me. Why is it that the deformed, the maimed and even the ugly are so repulsive to me[?] I sympathize with the unfortunate, & to see one that is hurt, hurts me. But while I sympathize with them I cannot endure their presence and they always affect my appetite when eating. I love the beautiful almost to adoration. It is a constant pleasure to me to behold it either in nature or in art, and to the extent that I love the beautiful & to that extent I abhor the ugly or deformed. Please God I'll have my world beautiful.⁴⁴

This Mexican "ogre" continued to be Roberts's "bane at supper[.]" He built Roberts a "pleasant" fire from corn cobs and offered fawning thanks to his ungrateful guest. Roberts made a feeble attempt to dismiss the man in phonetic Spanish in order to, in Roberts's words, be left alone with "my books & my thoughts."

While a mission afforded the chance to travel and to grow personally, Roberts, like any missionary then or now, experienced doubts and a strong desire to return home. On 18 February 1881, he wrote the following:

⁴⁴ See diary entry for 27 February 1893.

The last few days have let my mind run upon the things of this world, and in consequence thereof I have become somewhat restless. My mind has been planning how I am to make money in the future, but my business now is to preach the Gospel and I trust God will aid me to keep my mind upon my ministry.⁴⁵

An issue that was uppermost in the minds of Mormons in the nineteenth century, all but forgotten today, was the doctrine of gathering to Zion. Roberts took part in the major migration to Utah from 1840 to 1890, during which time more than 85,000 converts arrived in America from Britain, Scandinavia, and continental Europe. Even though most of Roberts's missionary years were spent in the United States, he nevertheless urged converts to immigrate to the West. For the Southern converts, the destination was often the San Luis Valley in southern Colorado. A stake had been organized there in 1883, about six years after the first Mormon settlers arrived. On 5-6 January 1881, Roberts and his companion Joseph Ford counseled Bro. John Adams and his family, who were in "some distress" and "somewhat perplexed" over whether to gather with the Saints. Roberts urged Adams to "continue his efforts to go."

Not only are the diaries valuable for such explicit explanations of doctrine and missionary activities, they are sometimes telling for what they do not say. Although Roberts spent the greater part of five years in the South, some of that in the deep South, he made almost no reference to blacks, segregation, or to post-Civil War reconstruction. On 12 January 1881, he observed that half the population of Murfreesboro was "colored," but only as a fact, not as a springboard for any interpretation or speculation. This differed from Roberts's autobiography. For example, as he recalled from his journey from Iowa to Tennessee:

That season there had been a large exodus of the Negro race from the South, and now under the pressure of the intensity of the cold weather, that migration was leading southward. At one point some distance from St. Louis at the close of the first day of delayed travel, the train was boarded by an immense number. In fact, all that could be crowded into the car of river men and Negroes took place.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ See entry for 18 February 1881.

⁴⁶ Bergera, ed., *Autobiography of B. H. Roberts*, 113-14.

To that point, the coach had been “occupied wholly by a young southern man from Kentucky on his way home and me.” As the crowding began, the young man came to Roberts and “proposed an alliance between us—offensive and defensive—against this on-rush” so that their throats would not be cut and their bodies not be thrown from the train. Admitting that he had not thought to carry a firearm, Roberts welcomed the alliance. At a layover, the pair sought shelter from the cold in a crowded lodging house. A young black boy in the office informed them of an available room that was occupied by a “colored man.” Roberts told the young clerk not to “disturb that man of color” and instead opted to huddle “on the chairs and tables of the office.”⁴⁷

So, the record is mixed. One could wish that Roberts had paid attention to the social conditions in Tennessee and elsewhere while he was laboring there. But he made no mention of preaching to or tracting among black residents, even though the surnames he identified—Huddleston, Sanders, etc.—were shared by black and white families. One suspects that if Roberts had visited “colored” people, he would have mentioned this.

Another interesting aspect of the mission that unfortunately goes unmentioned but which seems evident from the diaries is that Roberts and his associates kept to the rural parts of the South and avoided the larger cities. Whether they were better received in rural areas or intimidated by the level of education and culture of urban dwellers is unknown. In any case, when Roberts is in the country, he preaches to LDS congregations and attends their services; when he is in the cities, he limits himself to visiting other denominations and sight-seeing.

This was an unfortunate strategy in that it brought the missionaries and church members into close contact with the Ku Klux Klan. We learn of the Klan’s efforts to harass Mormons during this period, and the diaries give a feel for the kind of violence Mormons experienced, including a foreshadowing of the tragedy at Cane Creek in 1884—one of the most difficult chapters of Roberts’s life.⁴⁸

Roberts could not restrain himself from commenting on plural marriage, either theologically or in terms of its practical consider-

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ For an interesting overview of this question, see Gene A. Sessions, “Myth, Mormonism and Murder in the South,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 75 (1976): 212-25.

ations. When the diaries begin, he is married to Louisa, and he includes interesting details about this marriage. Along the way, we learn of his relationships with his second wife, Celia Dibble, and third plural wife, Margaret Shipp. His first reference to Margaret is in the retrospective section for 1891-92 even though the account for 1890 begins in November. As noted above, Truman Madsen has argued that Roberts's third marriage occurred in 1890 approximately six months prior to President Woodruff's Manifesto and the ostensible end of plural marriage.⁴⁹ But in his study of the church leadership, *The Mormon Hierarchy*, D. Michael Quinn stated that this marriage took place in 1891 after the Manifesto. If Quinn is correct, it is significant that Roberts confided his struggle in accepting the Manifesto—that he could find no good reason to obey it to the letter of the law.

Indeed, this ambivalence is important of itself. In the 1891-92 retrospective, Roberts notes that he was on an “extended tour” of southern Utah when he learned of the Manifesto. In fact, he learned of it by reading the newspaper headlines:

[N]o sooner had I read them, than like a flash of light all thro[ugh] my soul the Spirit said—“That is all right,” so it passed. Then I began to reflect upon the matter. I thought [of] all the Saints [who] had suffered to sustain that doctrine; I remembered my own exile, my own imprisonment; I thought of others. I remembered what sacrifice my wives had made for it; what others had made for it. We had preached it, sustained its divinity from the pulpit, in the press, from the lecture platform. Our community had endured every kind of reproach from the world for the sake of it—and was this to be the end?⁵⁰

Roberts expressed misgivings to a traveling companion, Apostle John W. Taylor, who “seemed to share them to some extent.” When others in their party reached them, Roberts found himself in “quite an exasperated mood and felt crushed and humiliated.” He was reassured by Elders John Henry Smith, Abraham W. Cannon,

⁴⁹ Truman Madsen notes in *Defender of the Faith* that “official records place the marriage at about six months prior to the Manifesto,” though without documenting or otherwise elaborating on this statement. In her typescript, Millie Nevelle Holyoak claims the marriage took place in April 1890 and was performed by Daniel H. Wells. If Wells did perform the marriage, it had to happen before 24 March 1891 when Wells died.

⁵⁰ See Roberts's retrospective “diary” for 1891-1892.

and Frances M. Lyman, but derived little comfort from their comments and spent the rest of the journey in private reflection.

He began to feel somewhat reconciled to the state of affairs as General Conference approached. But at conference, President Woodruff stood and asked the church membership for its ratification:

I saw that movements were on foot to have the whole people support [it,] a proceeding I viewed with alarm. When the crisis came I felt heart-broken but remained silent. It seemed to me to be the awfulest moment in my life, my arm was like lead when the motion was put; I could not vote for it, and did not.

He continued to be “plagued” by this issue over the next two years, but he also remembered the flash of light that had come to him when he first learned of the Manifesto, and “at last my feelings became reconciled to it.” Confiding that he had perhaps “transgressed” in not heeding his first impression, and while “allowing my own prejudices, and my own shortsighted, human reason to stand against the inspiration of God,” he nevertheless could not detect “the purposes” behind the Manifesto. He solicited “earnestly the spirit of God for a testimony” that the document was correct. He eventually reached an accommodation with the church policy, but he continued to believe that plural marriage was an integral part of Mormonism and that, along “with all other truth,” it would “eventually prevail and be established on the earth.” Perhaps this is the conviction that led him to take his third wife, Margaret, during this period.

The diaries provide insight concerning Roberts’s associations with several church leaders, including those mentioned above. He elaborates on how much he admired them and enjoyed their company. No doubt, he derived from them a sense of what his own calling and place in the church hierarchy were. Nevertheless, he found himself at odds with these men on more than one occasion.

In summary, the diaries reveal the stages of growth and development of a young man who was not only representative of his time and place, but whose accomplishments were remarkable. We see his character and outlook mature between 1880 and 1898. As the callow young missionary we encounter on the first page of the diaries gradually fades, another more confident and somewhat worldly

individual appears, in turn to be replaced by another man—a highly respected church leader. Roberts's greatest contributions were still in the future at the time he discontinued keeping a diary, but by this time he had already served several missions, written numerous articles and books, and played an active role in politics. We see evidence of change in him on his thirty-sixth birthday, in contrast to his account of his twenty-fifth birthday, cited above. Roberts imagined that he was

one step down from the summit of my life so far as time is concerned, that is if we count 70 y[ea]rs as the time allotted to man. I shall not live that allotted time. ... But these sad thoughts aside—thoughts which ever come whenever I think upon this subject, I hope that I shall live long enough to do much more than has yet been done by me. ... To thee Almighty God, do I dedicate [this] year of my life. ... Accept—it is thine as I will endeavor to make all the years that shall follow it ... but in this not my will but Thy will be done; I am thine to do even as Thou wilt; only this I ask, keep me from ... deadly sin that I may not mar the hopes I have of Eternal life.⁵¹

EDITORIAL APPROACH

The handwriting in these diaries is legible compared to many diaries of the same period, which is not to say that Roberts's writing was particularly polished. In fairness, he sometimes wrote on the fly with whatever writing implement was at hand. His punctuation and capitalization are unpredictable, but this is also to be expected, considering the time period. I have silently changed capitalization where it would otherwise impede understanding. I have also added terminal punctuation where it was missing. I have otherwise edited lightly and preserved the idiosyncracies that capture the flavor and personality of the original manuscripts. Where I thought it was necessary to add a missing word or letter, I did so [within brackets]. If Roberts himself added material above or below the line, I put this within <diamond brackets>. Material crossed out by Roberts is ~~rendered~~.

Readers will immediately notice Roberts's phonetic approach to orthography, in common with the times. I have left the misspellings where the word choice is obvious. Among other things, read-

⁵¹ See diary entry for 13 March 1893.

ers will see how Roberts probably pronounced such words as “altogather,” an example of a word he consistently misspelled.

I have standardized the dates for each entry. Sometimes Roberts listed a full date and at other times he gave a fragmentary date. Internal evidence indicates that he occasionally neglected his diary and caught up later, but the bulk of the entries seem to have been entered on a regular basis.

Beyond stylistic issues, I have provided readers with clarifications and additional details I thought might be helpful for understanding the context. I have emphasized people, places, and key events. Readers will notice that many of the people with whom Roberts associated on his missions would remain close friends of his for life. A few of them became colleagues within the church hierarchy. I have devoted the greatest amount of attention to people who were significant in Roberts’s life. A good source for additional information is Andrew Jenson’s four-volume *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* and his *Encyclopedic History*.⁵²

Otherwise, much of the biographical information comes from the federal census, especially that of 1880, and the LDS Church and Family History Library’s wonderfully helpful on-line records at *FamilySearch* (www.familysearch.org). These sources have their limitations, but they offer basic biographical information that allowed me to add some texture to Roberts’s accounts of people he encountered in small towns and elsewhere. Readers should keep in mind that much of this information is contingent upon the accuracy of a census taker, for instance, or on the reliability of information submitted to *FamilySearch* by descendants, the result occasionally being multiple entries for the same person with different vital statistics. Add to this the problem of the 1890 federal census, which was partly destroyed by fire, and one can see the difficulties in trying to reconstruct who lived where and when. Despite these pitfalls, the sources do shed light on the people Roberts met even casually while proselytizing in Tennessee and while traveling in England.

⁵² Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: A. Jenson History Co., 1901-1936); *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Co., 1941).

CONCLUSION

For more than a half century, B. H. Roberts sought to expand his talents as a writer, historian, politician, church leader, and theologian. He was controversial in his own day, but no one doubted his sincerity and many were persuaded by his honesty. He was partly admired, partly misunderstood, sometimes revered and at other times repudiated both then and in the course of the seventy years that have lapsed since his death. It is fortunate that history has left us a somewhat detailed record of his travels and views. Despite the work of Truman Madsen and others, I suspect that there will be more discoveries in the future that will add details to Roberts's life. My hope is that these diaries will be of assistance to future researchers.

I would have liked to look for additional diaries, letters, and reminiscences of Roberts's missionary colleagues and other acquaintances to compare with Roberts's accounts, which is something I recommend to future researchers. My suspicion is that a systematic search of records in Tennessee and elsewhere would produce documents of importance, not only to Roberts's life, but also to the story of Mormonism in the South.

In that spirit, my work was guided by something Roberts recorded early in his diaries. Admitting to doubts about his abilities and accomplishments, he expressed a commitment to "look to the present and future, trying to profit by the experiences of the past." For those looking to understand, not only Roberts's time, but also our own, one could do worse than to adopt such a guiding principle. Aware that I was neither the first nor would I be the last to ponder the subject, I forged ahead.

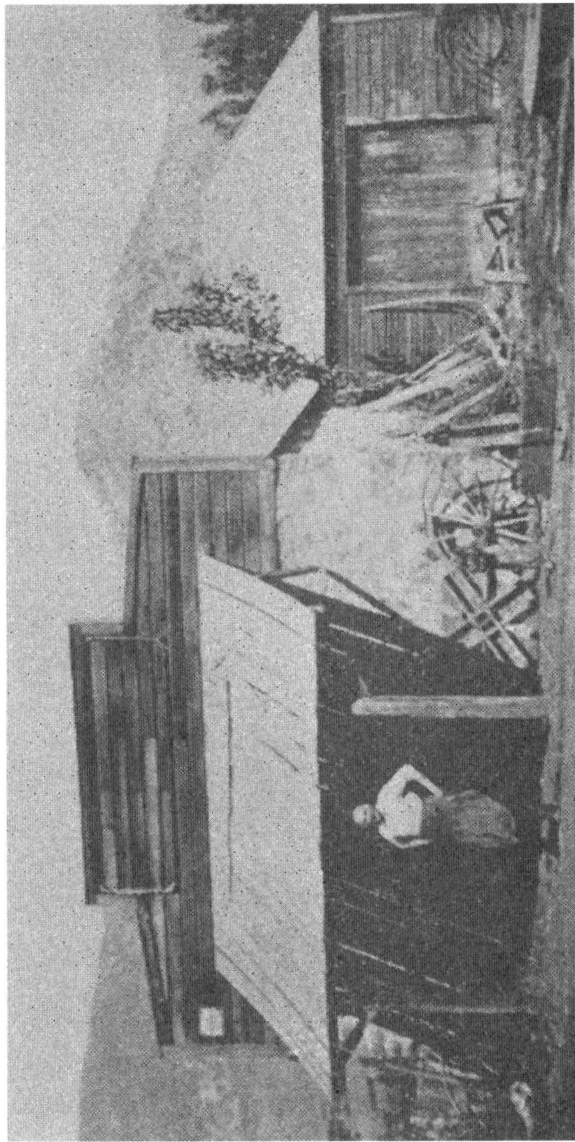
The
PHOTOGRAPHS



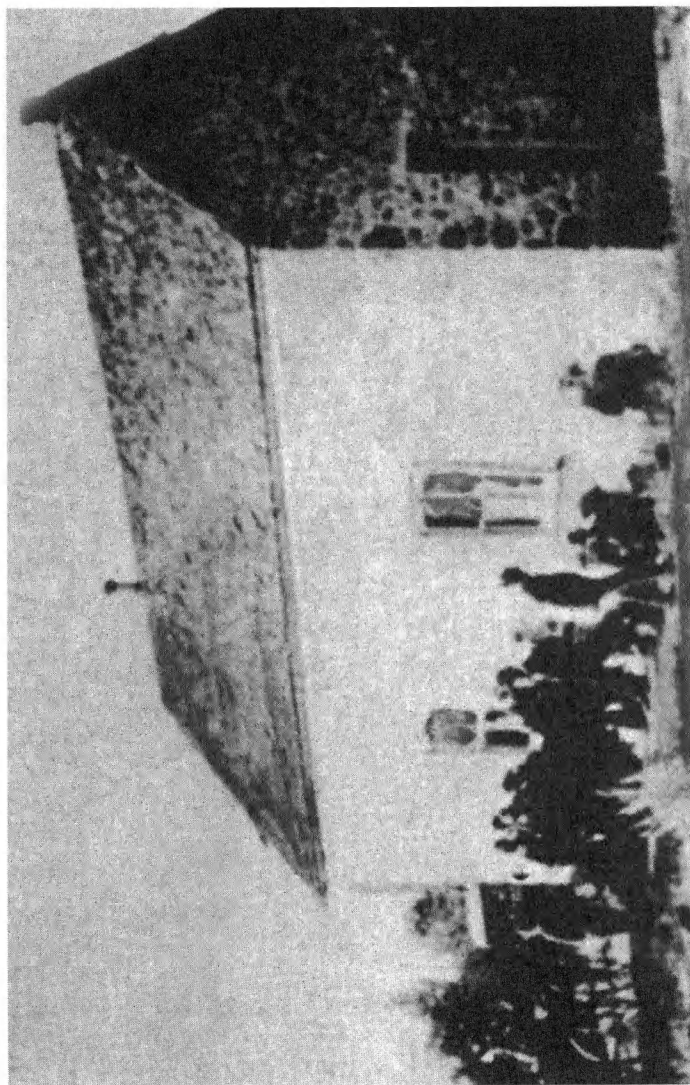
B. H. Roberts in his early forties. Photo by C. R. Savage, Salt Lake City, ca. 1898.



Roberts's mother, Ann Everington, shown here with her daughter Byrnina Dustin.



Henry J. Rampton, Roberts's brother-in-law (married to Louisa's sister Luna Smith), in front of the blacksmith shop where Roberts was apprenticed to James Baird. Rampton and Roberts were lifetime friends and often talked and played chess together.



The Young Men's Hall in Centerville provided young B. H. Roberts with good companions and good books.



Roberts with wife Louisa and daughter Adah, apparently photographed about the time Roberts set out for his second mission to Tennessee in 1883. Courtesy Richard C. Roberts

Still Iowa

Dec. A.D. 1880.

25, - Called on Mr. Severson, but he was on his way to Ackley, I promised to go and spend tomorrow with him.

Spent the rest of the day in packing up my things ready for departure for Southern States.

26, Spent the day with Mr. Hughes and Seversons.

27 This morning took leave of Brother Jensen, he taking me to Eldora, Iowa.

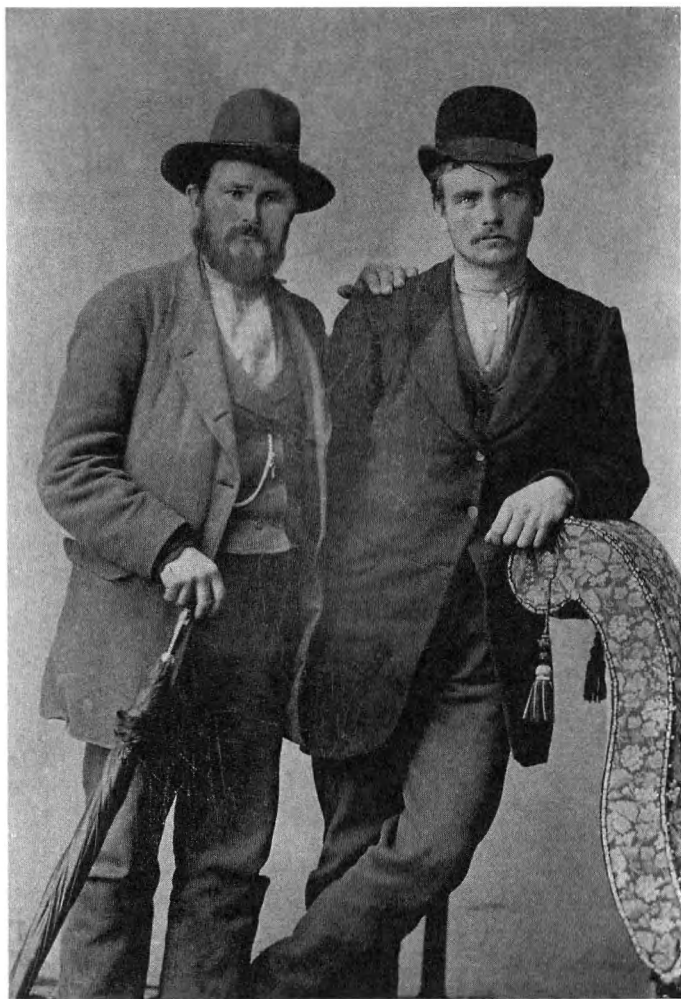
Had to wait 7 hours for the train going South. Failed to make connection at Ottumwa so we had to stay all night.

28 Continued journey at 4 P.M.

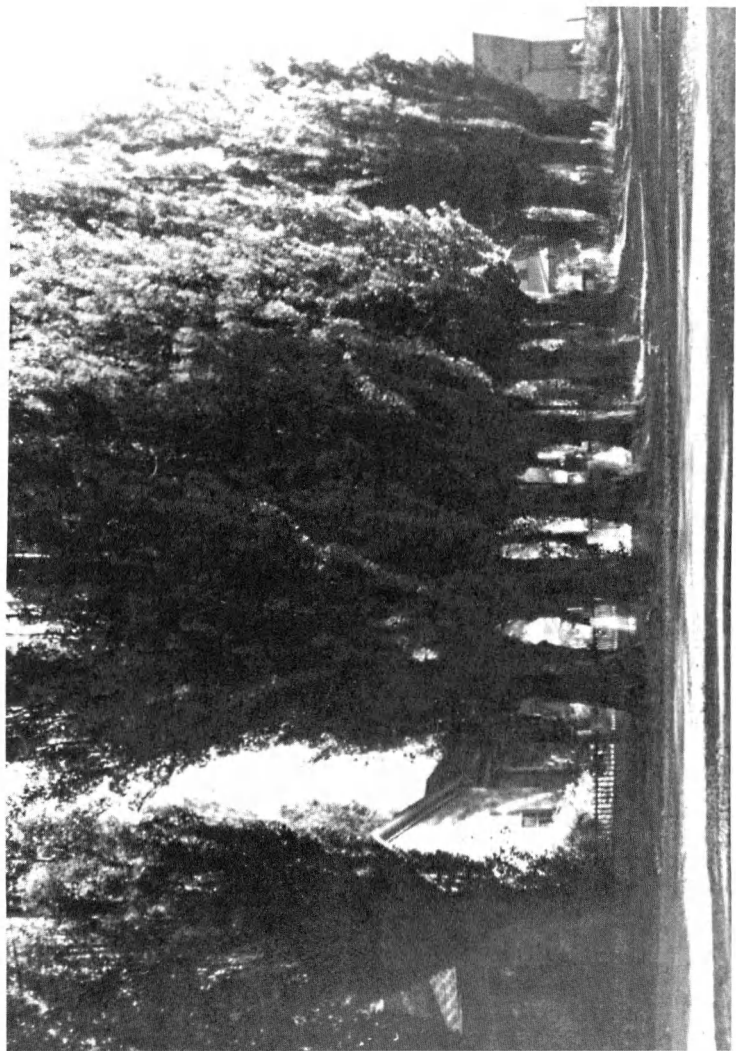
Made St Louis at 3 P.M. called at St James Hotel where took breakfast.

Called on Mr. Ruggles agt. of N. & C. purchased ticket for Tallahassee for \$9.25. Caught 9 o'clock train made as far as Columbus Ky

The first page of the 1880-81 diary shows, not only Roberts's handwriting, but also the type of appointment and ledger books he used for his diaries. Courtesy LDS Church Archives



Roberts and missionary companion Joseph Ford, probably about 1882 just prior to Ford's departure from Tennessee. Notice the string tie to Roberts's hat that has fallen across his forehead. See also diary entry for 14 April 1882. Courtesy Garn Ford



The simple, poplar-shaded home in Centerville, Utah, that Roberts built for Louisa and later shared with Celia. Courtesy Richard C. Roberts



Celia Dibble was one of Roberts's students when he taught school in Centerville, Utah. She became his plural wife in 1884. Courtesy Richard C. Roberts



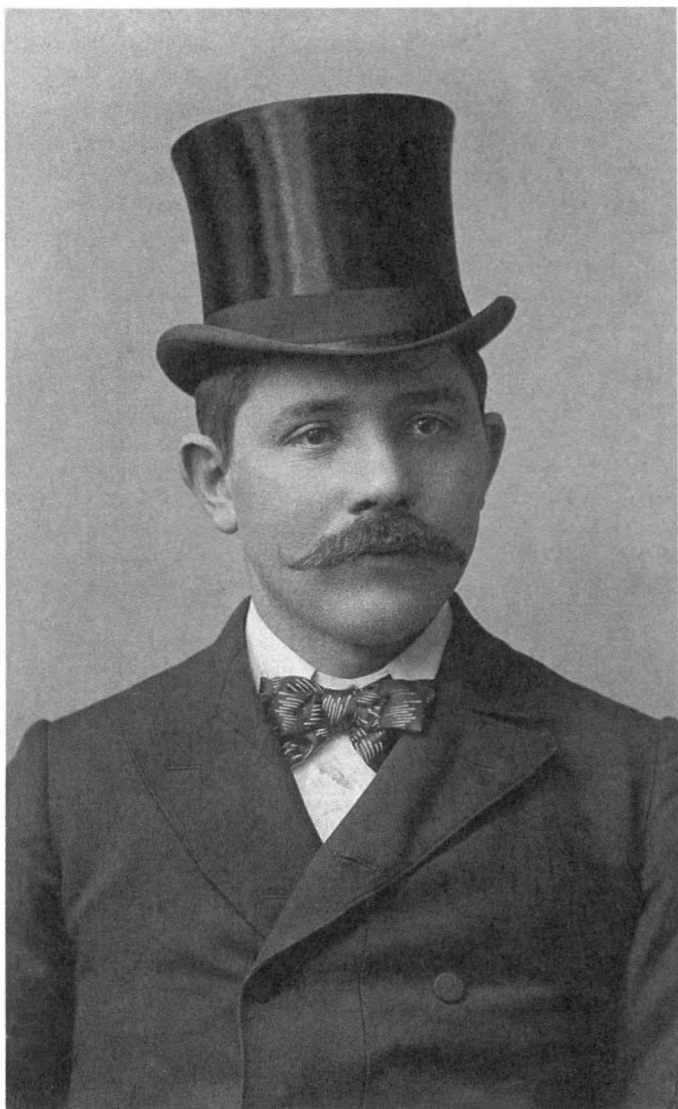
John Morgan was president of the Southern States Mission when Roberts was laboring in Tennessee. Morgan became a major influence in Roberts's life and a good friend and colleague in the First Council of Seventy. Courtesy LDS Church Archives



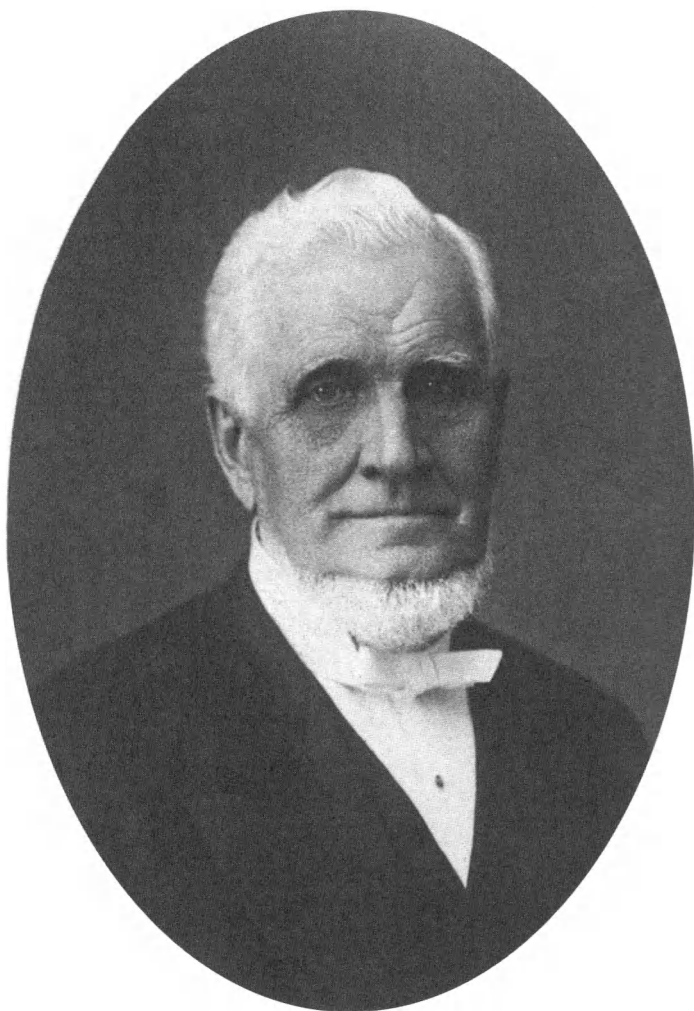
Photos of the martyred missionaries, William S. Berry and John H. Gibbs. Roberts retrieved their bodies at great personal risk and saw to it that they were safely transported home for burial. Courtesy Garn Ford



J. Golden Kimball served with Roberts in the Southern States Mission and later in the First Council of Seventy. Despite occasional differences, they remained life-long friends.



English convert John Ford was the older brother of Joseph Ford. Along with Melvin Randall, John Ford helped finish B. H.'s home in Centerville so the latter could return for another mission to Tennessee in 1883. Courtesy Garn Ford



John Taylor, third president of the LDS church, was a role model and important influence on Roberts, who wrote the most popular biography of Taylor—a work that is still in print over 100 years later. Courtesy LDS Church Archives



John W. Taylor was a fellow missionary in Tennessee and remained a friend of Roberts despite a few misunderstandings at the time. Taylor served in the Quorum of the Twelve from 1884 until he was discharged in 1906 due to intransigence over plural marriage. Courtesy LDS Church Archives



Kate Chase (standing), shown here with her sisters (left to right) Alice, Mary Ella, and Josephine. Kate was a close friend of Roberts. After "singing, joking checkers & chess" with the "miss Chases" on 15 October 1884, Roberts felt "almost a boy again." Courtesy Maurine Carr Ward



Roberts liked the cosmopolitan look of Edwardian attire in evidence here as he posed for a photograph in England while eluding prosecution in Utah for unlawful cohabitation. Courtesy LDS Church Archives



Apostle George Teasdale was president of the European Mission when Roberts was laboring in the mission office as editor of the Millennial Star. Their paths crossed often in later years. Courtesy LDS Church Archives



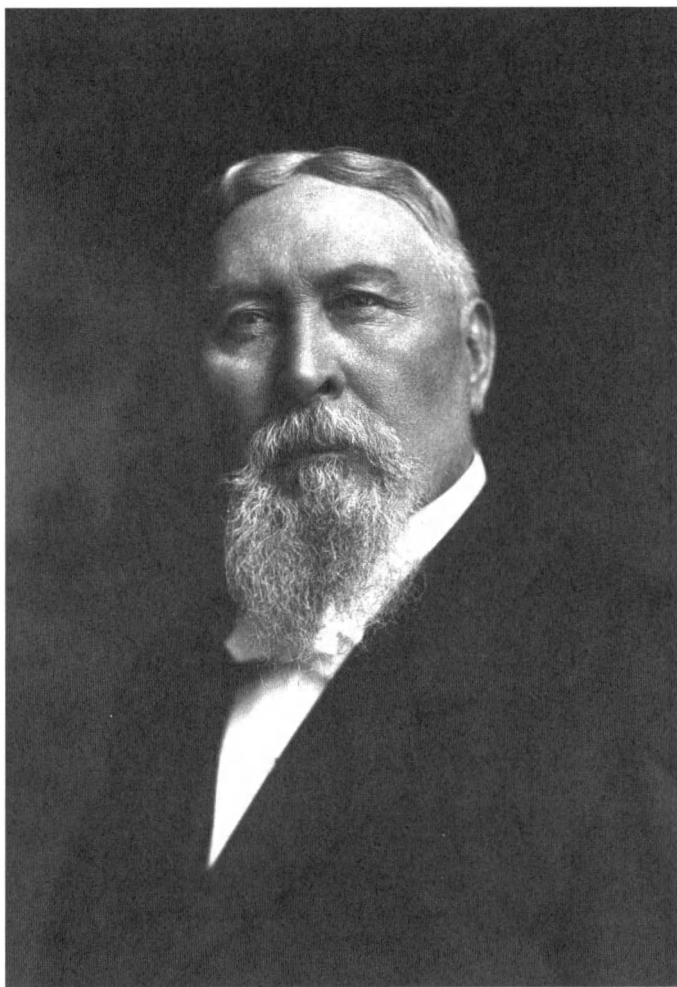
Roberts worked together with apostle Francis M. Lyman to settle legal and political problems in the Mormon settlements in Colorado. Lyman's opinion carried considerable weight with Roberts, especially when Roberts was trying to come to terms with the Woodruff Manifesto. Courtesy LDS Church Archives



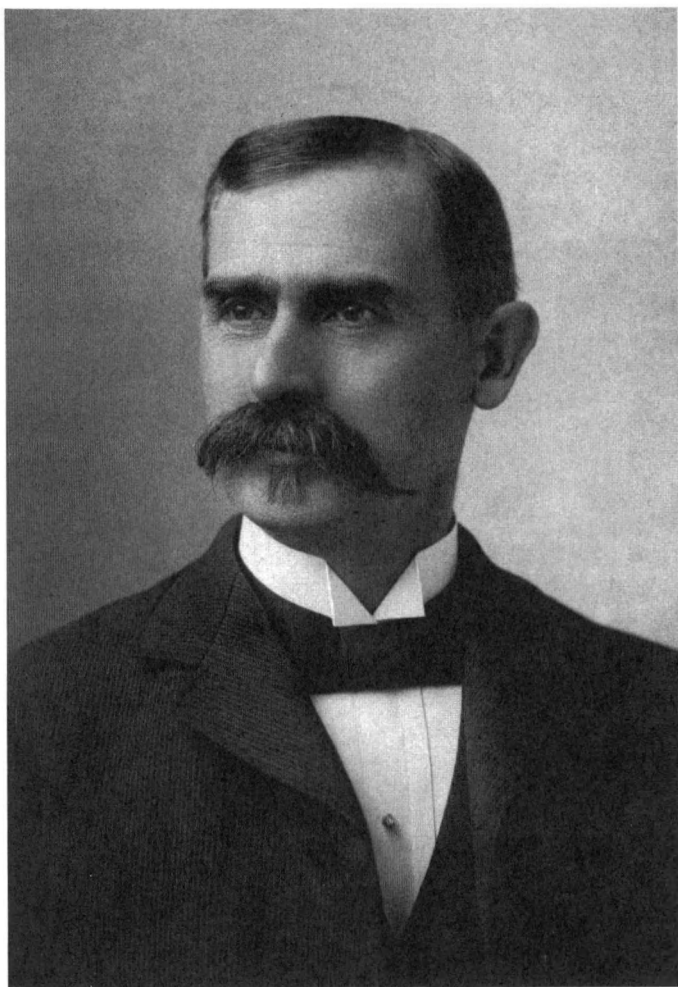
Milford Bard Shipp was in his early thirties when he married Margaret Curtis, who had just turned eighteen. They divorced in 1888.
Courtesy Pamela Carleen Nelson



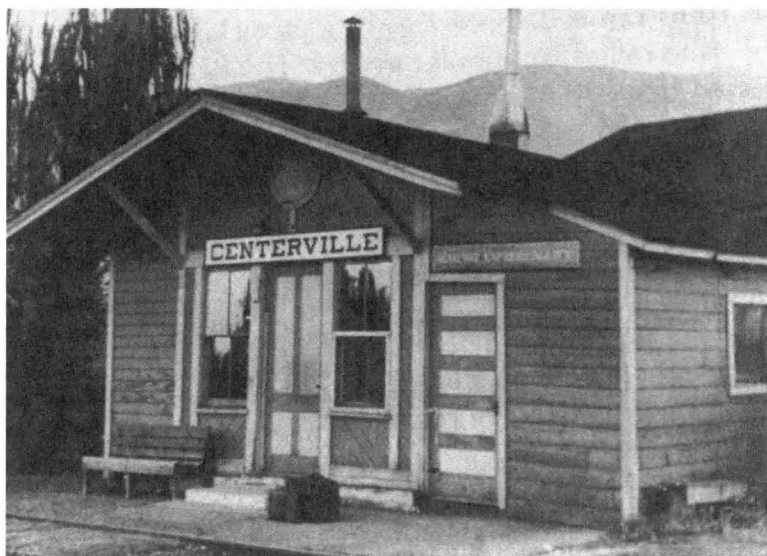
After her divorce from Milford Shipp, Margaret Curtis became Roberts's third wife in either 1890 or 1891. She seemed to provide a level of intellectual companionship that Roberts craved.
Courtesy Pamela Carleen Nelson



John Henry Smith, a staunch Republican, was opposed to Roberts's promotion of the Democratic Party in the 1890s. Nevertheless, the two remained cordial. Courtesy LDS Church Archives



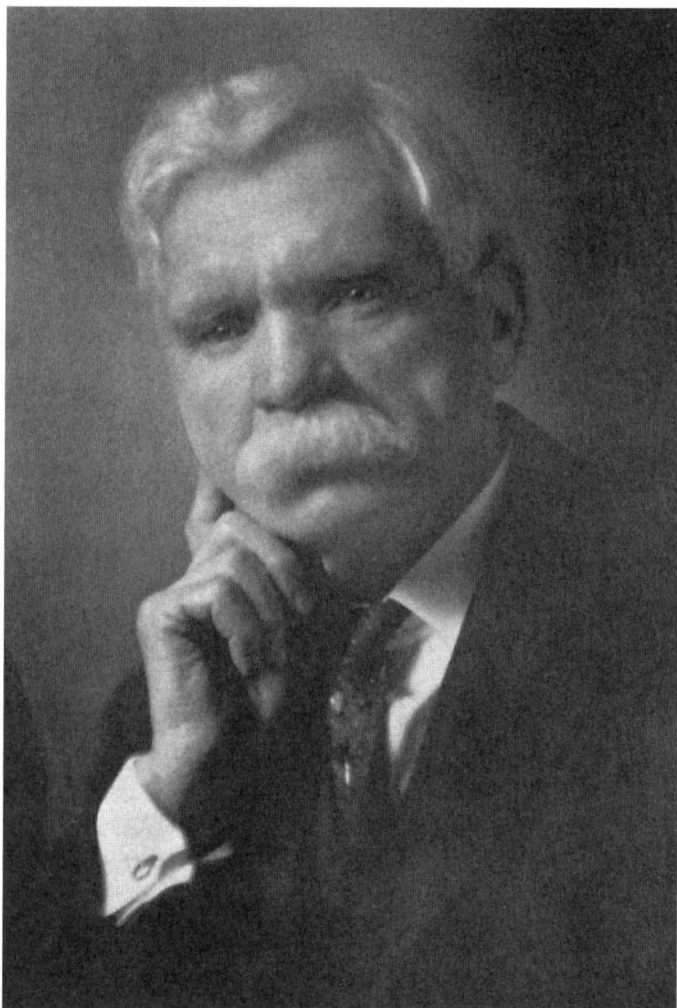
Moses Thatcher, a member of the Council of the Twelve from 1879 to 1896, was a political ally of Roberts. Together, they were mainstays in the early days of Utah's Democratic Party. Courtesy LDS Church Archives



Roberts was a frequent traveler on the Bamberger commuter line, his stop (shown here), the Centerville station.



Roberts and wife Margaret in the 1920s. Margaret accompanied Roberts east when he became president of the Eastern States Mission, 1922-1927. Notice the clothes pin in Margaret's hat. Courtesy LDS Church Archives



Roberts near the end of his life looking Mark Twainish. Roberts's tombstone in Centerville, Utah, refers to him as a "Churchman, Soldier, Statesman," although it is for his scholarship and documentation of the Mormon experience that he is most remembered.

The
DOCUMENTS

I.
Iowa and Tennessee
1880 - 1881

Still [in] Iowa¹
Dec. A. D. 1880.

[December 25, 1880] Called on Mr. Severson,² but he was on his way to Ackley [Iowa].³ I promised to go and spend tomorrow with him.

Spent the rest of the day in packing up my things ready for departure for Southern States.⁴

¹ Roberts left on his mission in the spring of 1880 and spent nine months in Iowa before being assigned to the southern states. The transfer was predicated, in part, on health problems he was having in the cold damp Iowa climate. At this point, he was working in Hardin County in the middle of the state, some 100 miles northeast of Des Moines. Roberts's title for this diary, written at the top of the page before the first entry, was "1880 and 1881 Diary of B. H. Roberts While on a Mission to the United States." He is currently twenty-two years old and has a wife, Louisa, and daughter, Adah, at home in Centerville, Utah.

² There are several Severson families living in the area. Roberts identifies this particular Severson as "an infidel but a fine man nevertheless, [who] was quite wonderfully interested in our message." See Gary James Bergera, ed., *The Autobiography of B. H. Roberts* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 107-12; hereafter cited as *Autobiography*

³ Ackley is a small town in Hardin County in the middle of the state.

⁴ Roberts wrote to his wife, Louisa, that he had "received a letter from the presidents office informing me of the change in my missionary field of labor, being assigned to the Southern States." When the Southern States Mission was organized in 1878, there were less than 1,000 Latter-day Saints in the region. Among other details Roberts shared with his wife, he told her that he had "grown nearly one inch taller"

[December 26, 1880] Spent the day with Mr. [Allen B.] Hughes⁵ and Seversons.

[December 27, 1880] This morning took leave of Brother [Hyrum] Jensen,⁶ he taking me to Eldora <Iowa>.⁷

Had to wait 7 hours for the train going South. Failed to make connection at Ottumwa [Iowa],⁸ so we had to stay all night.

[December 28, 1880] Continued journey at 4 P.M. Made St. Louis 6:30 P.M. Called at St. James Hotel where took breakfast. Called on Mr. Ruggles agent of the Memphis & Chattanooga. Purchased ticket for Tullahoma[, Tennessee]⁹ for \$9.25. Caught 9 o'clock train.¹⁰ [Made] as far as Columbus Kentucky.¹¹ Here we¹² failed to make connection. Had to sit-up in hotel bar-room until morning.

since leaving home. See letter to Louisa Roberts, 20 December 1880, box 3, folder 3, B. H. Roberts Papers, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah.

⁵ Allen B. Hughes (1824-1914) and wife Laura (1825-85) lived in Hardin County, Iowa. Roberts identifies Allen as a "wealthy farmer." Along with his mission companion, Hyrum Jensen, Roberts stayed at the Hughes home "to quite an extent" while they labored in the area (*Autobiography*, 107-12).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 94-110. Twenty-one-year-old Jens Hyrum Jensen (known by his middle name, Hyrum) was Roberts's companion for several months. He was set apart for his mission on 9 April 1880 by Apostle Charles C. Rich and would be released on 22 February 1881. Jensen was born in Brigham City, Utah, in 1859. At some point, he married Matilda Nielsen (ca. 1864-?). Roberts cautioned Louisa not to discuss his comments about Jensen "as it might make his relations [relatives] in ... [Davis] county" feel bad. Roberts noted that while Jensen was upset by his release, he had been "negligent" in his duties. Specifically, Jensen had grown weary of proselytizing without purse or scrip and took a job with Allen Hughes to finance his mission. See letter to Louisa Roberts, 20 December 1880, box 3, folder 3, Roberts Papers; *Autobiography*, 110-11.

⁷ Eldora is a small town in southeast Hardin County approximately fifteen miles south of Ackley.

⁸ Ottumwa is a small town in southeast Iowa approximately forty miles from the Missouri border.

⁹ Tullahoma is located in Coffee County in the south central part of the state, about seventy miles southeast of Nashville. It was an important railroad terminus during this period.

¹⁰ Roberts notes that the "winter was intensely cold" and that the journey was uncomfortable. He later recalled that the "weather was so severe" when he left the St. James Hotel "to catch a streetcar for the depot to resume the journey, my ears were frozen white and stiff, both hands being engaged in carrying my valises, books and clothing. From this little incident I suffered quite sharply for several days." See *Autobiography*, 113; also the *Deseret Evening News*, 24 February 1881.

¹¹ Columbus is a small town in northwest Kentucky, the state just north of Tennessee.

¹² Roberts refers here to his fellow passengers. He was otherwise traveling alone.

We also had to stop untill 1:15 P.M. Because of ice floating in the river. At the 29 time mentioned[,] we started South. [G]ot as far as Union [City, Tennessee,]¹³ where we again had to wait several hours for train.

[December 29, 1880] Arrived at Nashville[,] Tenn[essee,]¹⁴ about two o'clock where we had to wait again for the train. I visited the Capitol, the Bronze Statue of Pres. Andrew Jackson, the grave of Ja[me]s K. Polk 10th Pres. of the United States: and other places of interest. Started for Tullahoma where we arrived at twelve o'clock. Here I stayed all night.

[December 30, 1880] Stayed in this villiage of about six hundred inhabitants untill 3 o'clock when I arrived at Manchester[, Tennessee].¹⁵

[January 1, 1881] Making enquiries for the Elders, and found they were several miles distant. Leaving my large valiese at a hotel I started for the neighborhood where Elders Corey [George Carver] and [Joseph] Ford were laboring.¹⁶ I lost my way in the woods and had to cross quite a large stream twice which was partly frozen over and very cold. After this I came to a place where the road again crossed the stream; but I concluded that I had crossed that stream enough: I could see no house or person and I was lost indeed. I prayed to the Lord and he showed me the way to a house where a man by the name of Anderson lived. There I was treated very kindly and stayed all night with him.

[January 2, 1881] Early this morning Mr. Anderson's son set me across the river [Duck River]¹⁷ at the same time showing me where a

¹³ Union City, the county seat of Obion County, is just over the Kentucky border in northwest Tennessee approximately thirty-five miles south of Columbus and 160 miles west of Nashville.

¹⁴ Nashville lies in the heart of Middle Tennessee where Roberts will spend most of his mission.

¹⁵ Manchester, the county seat of Coffee County, is about sixty-five miles southeast of Nashville and twenty miles northeast of Tullahoma. Roberts will spend the next two weeks in this area.

¹⁶ While he initially refers in his diary to "Elders Corey and Ford," Roberts undoubtedly meant George Carver and Joseph Ford. These two young missionaries were both from Davis County, Utah. Ford would be Roberts's closest companion for much of the next two years. See notes 21 and 22 below.

¹⁷ Duck River has its headwaters north of Manchester and meanders 270 miles

Mr. [Richard] Fagan¹⁸ lived. This man belonged to the church. He received me kindly, and said the Elders wh were but a short distance from here. He saddled a mule for me and he mounted the other, and we went in search of the Elders but found they were some six or eight miles away. We then returned to a Brother [John] Adams¹⁹ where we stayed a while. Afterwards we rode back to Brother Fagans where I wrote cards to Elder [John] Morgan²⁰ and [Hyrum] Jensen and wrote up my Diary.

Spent the eve[ning] in speaking to the family of Bro. Fagan.

[January 3, 1881] Walked as far as Bro. Adams. Stay[ed] here untill about three o'clock when I met Bros. [Joseph] Ford²¹ and [George] Carver.²² These were the first Elders I have seen since parting with the brethren at Sioux City[, Iowa,] since leaving home.²³ We went

across Tennessee through six counties, including Hickman County and the river's namesake town of Duck River, to the Tennessee River, which cuts through the state from north to south.

¹⁸ Richard Thomas Fagan was born in 1830 in Manchester, Tennessee. At the time of this diary entry, he was a farmer in Coffee County with wife, Lydia Ann Ward (1840-93), and six of their nine living children. Notice from Roberts's diary for 6 March 1881 that when a branch is organized in Manchester, Tennessee, Fagan becomes its leader. After Lydia's death, Fagan married Mary Ann Mangum (1834-?) in 1894 and died in 1895 in Denton, Texas.

¹⁹ John Adams was a thirty-eight-year-old farmer living in Coffee County with his thirty-seven-year-old wife, Margaret, and their five children.

²⁰ Thirty-eight-year-old John Hamilton Morgan was a missionary in the southern states from 1875 through 1877 and president of the mission from 1878 to 1884. He is probably best remembered for his tracts, including *Plan of Salvation*, published in 1881. Over the years, he and Roberts became close friends. Morgan was born in Indiana in 1842. After service as a Union soldier in the Civil War, he came to Salt Lake City as an instructor at the University of Deseret. He was baptized in 1867; married Helen Malvina Groesbeck (1852-1930) in 1868, Annie Mildred Smith (1844-?) in 1884, and Mary Ann Linton (1865-1951) in 1888; and was called to the First Council of Seventy in 1884. He died in 1894 in Preston, Idaho. See Arthur Richardson, *The Life and Ministry of John Morgan* (Salt Lake City: Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., 1965).

²¹ Twenty-eight-year-old Joseph Ford was born in England in 1852. He married Emma Garn (1857-1934) in 1876. On 4 September 1880, he was set apart for his mission to the southern states by Apostle Joseph F. Smith. In 1884, Morgan married Maggie Mae Cleveland (1864-1929). He died in Bountiful, Utah, in 1948.

²² Twenty-six-year-old George Henry Carver was born in Kaysville, Utah, in 1854 and was set apart for his mission on 14 June 1879 by Apostle Albert Carrington. In late 1881, he married Elizabeth Geddes (1862-1926). He died in 1922 in Preston, Idaho.

²³ Roberts began his mission in Omaha and Sioux City, Iowa, with the acting president of the Northern States Mission, William Palmer, who had accompanied

from Bro. Adams to Bro. Fagan where we spent the eve[ning] in relating our experience.

[January 4, 1881] Spent the day in writing reading +c. Bro. Ford & I crossed the river to a Bro. [Benjamin] Ingram's.²⁴ We talked and sang hymns spending quite a pleasant eve[ning].

[January 5, 1881] This morning we started for Manchester to post letters +c. We left Bro. Carver here, and started for Bro. Adams where we arrived about five o'clock. Found his family in some distress, because he began to think of gathering with the Saints.

[January 6, 1881] This morning Bro. Adams was somewhat perplexed in regard to starting with the spring company of Saints for Colorado.²⁵ We gave such counsel as we thought proper which was to the effect that he had better continue his efforts to go notwithstanding his the eff opposition he had to meet as in our judgement it would never be less. We then called on a Mr. [Newton] Prince²⁶ with whom we stayed all night.

[January 7, 1881] This morning Bro. Ford and myself called on Mr. [Noel] Sparks²⁷ with whom we had some conversation on the principles of the Gospel.

Roberts east from Salt Lake City. President Palmer stayed with Roberts a few days and then continued on to Minnesota, leaving Roberts alone until Elder Hyrum Jensen arrived (*Autobiography*, 77).

²⁴ Benjamin Ingram (1856-83) was a farmer living near Manchester, Coffee County, with his wife, Martha Caroline Clark Ingram (1860-?), and his sixty-four-year-old widowed father, Isaac. Benjamin is a member of the LDS church, but Roberts finds him "cold and indifferent" (see diary entries for 8 Mar., 22 Apr. 1881).

²⁵ A number of Tennessee converts, as well as some from other areas of the South, had settled in southern Colorado as early as 1877-78. In later years, as these diaries will show, Roberts kept in close contact with these people and spent a great deal of time with them in the San Luis Valley. For information on the Colorado settlements, see Carleton Q. Anderson, Betty Shawcroft, and Robert Compton, eds., *The Mormons: One Hundred Years in the San Luis Valley of Colorado, 1883-1983* (LaJara stake, 1984); Twila Bird, *A Century of Saints: A Front Range History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Edgewood, CO: R & M Graphics, 1997); Richardson, *The Life and Ministry of John Morgan*.

²⁶ Prince was a fifty-two-year-old farmer living in Coffee County with his fifty-five-year-old wife, Delila, and his twenty-one-year-old daughter, Sarah.

²⁷ Noel Sparks was a sixty-one-year-old farmer living in Coffee County with his forty-eight-year-old wife, Mary, and their four children.

[January 8, 1881] Hearing that a Mr. Wells would be pleased to hear us we called on him and spoke of the principles of the Gospel. This afternoon we held meeting. Also in the eve[ning].

[January 9, 1881] We walked as far as Bro. Adam's where we had an appointment at 11 o'clock A. M. Bro. Carver was the principle speaker. Bro. Ford and I following. We then walked to Bro. Fagan's some three miles distant where we had an ap[pointmen]t at half past 2. [T]en or twelve persons assembled together. I occupied the principle part of the time.

Bro. Carver and I crossed the river. Stayed all night with a Mr. Sain.

[January 10, 1881] Spent the most of the day in writing[,] studying +c. In the eve[ning] Bro. Ford and myself left Elder Carver, and walked as far as Bro. Adam's on our way to Wilson Co[unty].²⁸ We stayed all night with Bro. Adams. Talked with him endeavoring to encourage him and his family.

[January 11, 1881] This morning we started on our journey, a distance of some sixty miles. [D]uring the day we passed through Shady Grove,²⁹ a small villiage where Elders Carver and Ford had held several meetings with no success. We also passed through Needmore³⁰ a villiage where Bro. P[arley] P. Pratt³¹ had visited. In all we walked some 22 or 23 mi[les] and stayed with a man by the name of Sparks who[,] though poor[,] treated us with kindness. We spoke with him on the principles of the Gospel, and of Judgement to come: Left him two pamphlets to read.

[January 12, 1881] We continued out journey this morning and af-

²⁸ Wilson County is located east of Nashville and north of Manchester. It was a new area for the missionaries, the visit prompted by an acquaintance Elder Ford had made on a train with Irving Sanders (see note 37) of Baird Mills, Wilson County (*Autobiography*, 118).

²⁹ There are several communities in the state with this name; this particular Shady Grove is a small town in northwest Coffee County, not to be confused with Shady Grove, Hickman County, where there was a thriving branch of the church.

³⁰ Needmore is a small town in central Coffee County.

³¹ Parley P. Pratt (1807-57) was one of the original members of the Council of the Twelve Apostles. He was killed in Crawford County, Arkansas, while on a mission there.

ter walking 8 miles came to Murfreesboro[,] a small town containing about four thousand five hundred inhabitants.³² The population is more than one half colored. The buildings — many of them at least — are large[,] comfortable looking[,] and of that kind of architecture peculiar to the South. The public buildings are the Court House and Academy — both of brick. Six or seven mi[les] north we came to the cross Pike and Bro. Jos. [Ford] having heard that an L.D.S. lived some three or four miles from there[,] we deviated from our direct course to call on him. His name was Hawkins,³³ and he received us kindly. In the eve[ning] a Col. Bates³⁴ called in and with him we held a conversation[,] first upon various matters, but finally upon Gospel principles.

[January 13, 1881] This morning we learned that Bro. Hawkins belonged to a portion of the Church called the “Josephites.”³⁵ We laid before him the differences between the Org[anizations] and told him they [the RLDS] were certainly in error. We stayed with him all night; spent the eve[ning] in talking of these matters.

[January 14, 1881] We continued our journey to Wilson <Co[unty]>, where the Brethren [had] labored some.³⁶ We stayed all night with a Mr. [Irving] Sanders.³⁷

[January 15, 1881] Gave out an ap[pointmen]t for meeting at the house of Mr. Sanders at 11 O'clock Sunday A.M. [S]ome twelve

³² Murfreesboro, the county seat of Rutherford County, is located approximately thirty miles southeast of Nashville, midway between Nashville and Manchester.

³³ John Hawkins was a forty-nine-year-old farmer living in Rutherford County with his fifty-one-year-old wife, Nancy, their five children, and a sixty-six-year-old black servant, Henry Rucker. Although RLDS (see note 35 below), John, Nancy, and their oldest daughter, Anna, will convert to the LDS church about a year later (see diary entry for 5 Feb. 1882) and eventually relocate to the Mormon colonies in Colorado.

³⁴ Roberts probably refers to Creed Bate, a Mason and friend of the mission president, John Morgan.

³⁵ The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints had emerged out of the fragmentation and dissension of church leadership after the death of Joseph Smith. In April 1860, Joseph Smith III became president of the RLDS church and led that body until his death in 1914. Throughout his life, Joseph III opposed several tenets of the LDS church, especially plural marriage.

³⁶ Roberts and Ford will be in Wilson County until the end of February.

³⁷ J. I. Sanders was a fifty-six-year-old widowed farmer living in Wilson County with his five children and two grandchildren. Apparently his middle name was Irving.

come to hear. [W]rote in the eve[ning] to my wife. [T]his was on the 16th.

[January 17, 1881] I spent the A.M. writing[. I]n the afternoon Bro. Ford and I rode some three miles distant to a small villiage called Gladeville³⁸ for the purpose of obtaining a Church for the 5th Sun[day].

We were successful in obtaining the Baptist Church H[ouse] where we left an ap[pointmen]t. About twenty five people had assembled to hear us preach at the house of a Mr. [blank in original].

The houses of this country are principally built of logs, and one end of the house is occupied by the fire-place; at several places where we preached a great fire was started and around this the people would gather sitting in a half circle three or four deep. On this eve[ning] we enjoyed good liberty.

[January 18, 1881] This morning I wrote a piece for the Contributor.³⁹ In the afternoon Bro. Ford and myself started for a Mr. Horn's⁴⁰ place as we had an ap[pointmen]t at his house this eve[ning].

The weather has been cloudy and raining ever since I came to the state, and this afternoon a heavy fogg arose which caused us to lose our way. Were lost in the woods going some five or six miles, when the place we were going to was but a mile distant on the start.

We reached it however, and found quite a goodly number assembled. We again enjoyed the spirit in speaking. After meeting we accompanied a son of Mr. [Irving] Sanders to his fathers home.⁴¹

Roberts refers to him by that name as well as, on other occasions, "Irve" and "Erve" and describes him as a "popular man in Wilson County" because of his charity in lean times. Roberts notes that while "wealthy and engaged in large enterprises, [he] could not read or write" and was "a man loose in his relations with women, and in addition to his own large family by legal marriage, he was the father of many children to whom he sustained an attitude of great kindness." Roberts and Ford held several meetings in Sanders's "spacious, but ill-furnished home." See *Autobiography*, 118-19; also Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 124-25. Both sources refer to him as "Saunders," which is incorrect.

³⁸ Gladeville, Wilson County, is approximately twenty miles east of Nashville.

³⁹ B. H. Roberts, "Justice and Mercy," *Contributor* 2 (September 1881): 373-75. The *Contributor* was the church's youth magazine. Roberts would become its editor in 1888.

⁴⁰ Probably Albert Horn, a thirty-three-year-old farmer living in Wilson County with his twenty-seven-year-old wife, C. Horn.

⁴¹ Sanders had three sons living with him: J. C., Thomas, and Jeff.

[January 19, 1881] Walked as far as Mr. John Sanders[,]⁴² Bro. to the Sanders that we have been staying with most of the time. One of us intends to go to the office to get our mail which we felt certain had come. One of Mr. Sanders boys accompanied me on horse-back, but no mail was there, and as I had not heard from home for over three weeks I keenly felt the disappointment.

In the eve[ning] an audience assembled and we preached to them on judgement to come, and spoke of [the] near approach of the coming of Christ.

I also predicted that the next summer would be one of the most sickly seasons of the people before me ever experienced.

[January 20, 1881] The weather is still dreary and rainy, felt somewhat dreary. Mr. Sanders being a magistrate in this (Wilson) Co[unty] there was brought before him two boys accused of theft — one of them escaped and the other was bound over.

A Mr. [Jerome R.] Baird⁴³ called in[,] and with him and Mr. Sanders we held some conversation on the Gospel principles.

~~Frid. 21~~

We held a meeting at a Mr. Taylor's.⁴⁴ [T]he weather being severe[,] not many came out. A Mr. Jackson & Baird came from Lebanon⁴⁵ a distance of 12 miles. [W]e answered many questions relative to our people.

[January 21, 1881] Walked to Baird's Mills⁴⁶ and obtained some mail. Was comforted by the words of my wife.

[January 22, 1881] We have an ap[pointmen]t tonight at Mr. Horns.⁴⁷ A good many came to hear but have not much faith that we shall do them much good because they manifest a wicked spirit. Preached however, and had very good attention.

⁴² John C. Sanders was a forty-year-old farmer living in Wilson County with his wife, Dora, their four children, and his mother.

⁴³ Jerome Ridley Baird was born in 1848 in Baird's Mills, Tennessee. He was a farmer in Wilson County living with his wife, Sarah Frances Cason Baird (1848-1930), and their four children. He died in 1936 in Kempner, Texas.

⁴⁴ Apparently M. W. Taylor, a fifty-year-old saddler living in Wilson County with his fifty-four-year-old wife, Mary, his eighty-three-year-old mother, Sophia, and a twenty-two-year-old boarder named Henry Towns.

⁴⁵ Lebanon, the county seat of Wilson County, is located some thirty miles east of Nashville.

⁴⁶ Bairds Mills is approximately ten miles southwest of Lebanon.

⁴⁷ The assumption would be that this was Albert Horn. See footnote 40 above.

[January 23, 1881] Have no ap[pointmen]t for today as yet. Walked from Mr. H[orn's] to Uncle Irve Sanders.

Spent most of the day in writing letters +c.

In the eve[ning] we were asked to preach at the house of Mr. Smith. [W]e did so.

[January 24, 1881] Started today for Lebanon. Mr. [William] Gwyn⁴⁸ taking us in his Jersey.⁴⁹ Put up at [the] American House, kept by a Baptist preacher. [E]ve[ning] found us in the judge's chair and a good audience before us.

The Lord poured out his spirit upon us. After meeting we gave out about fifty tracts.

Returning to our hotel we had some contention with our hosts. I had dreamt the night before of fighting a snake, and it gave me some trouble, but I finally began hitting and it became smaller & smaller untill it dwindled to nothing[,] and with this man was this [dream] fulfilled, for he gave me some trouble but finally he sold himself and ceased to contend with us.

[January 25, 1881] Spent the day in studying, viewing the town +c. At night a very good audience came out and I spoke to them. Rec[eived] a note from a very respectable gentleman asking me to explain our views on marriage. The congregation promised to pay our bills so we gave out the ap[pointmen]t.

[January 26, 1881] Spent the day much as the day before. Eve[ning] came [and] about two hundred turned out to hear us. I enjoyed the Spirit[,] speaking about two hours.

A number of gentlemen crowded about us to ask questions which we answered. We asked those unto whom we had given tracts to give them to their neighbors. We warned them of the judgements to come[,] told them God had spoken from the heavens, that his Church had been org[anized] in this age. [C]alled upon them to repent.

⁴⁸ William A. Gwyn was a twenty-nine-year-old machinist living in Wilson County with his twenty-nine-year-old wife, Betty, and two children. See entries for 14, 25 February 1881 for William's and Betty's baptisms, 16 June for William's disillusionment after hearing about polygamy, and 12 September for the creation of the Baird's Mill branch and Gwyn's designation as its leader.

⁴⁹ Roberts refers to a Jersey wagon, commonly used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was similar to a buckboard.

[January 27, 1881] This morning we prepared to leave Lebanon[. It] contains some five thousand people.

Mr. Jackson only charged us half fare. We called on Sqr. Sanders⁵⁰ with whom we stayed all night.

[January 28, 1881] Spent the day in studying Scripture. I feel bad because my old weakness still is not overcome, but am still determined to overcome.⁵¹

Stayed with Mr. [Ben] Bright⁵² all night. We talked with him with much earnestness. He expressed a belief in the principles we had taught – but required more time to consider the matter. His family was in the same condition.

[January 29, 1881] Spent the morning in study. Walked to Irve Sanders where we stayed all night.

[January 30, 1881] Feel quite poorly this morning, but after prayer [I] feel much better. Walked to the Glade,⁵³ a distance of three miles. A good audience assembled. Bro. Ford spoke first and I followed, but the people manifested but little interest. After ~~Mon~~ 31 this we returned to Mr. Sanders neighborhood. Called upon a Mr. [William] Gwyn who had spoken to us about being baptized. We then continued [speaking] to a Mr. Taylor⁵⁴ when another audience came in, and to them we spoke in great plainness.

[January 31, 1881] We spent a good portion of the day in reading, writing +c. Walked to the <P[ost] O> office. [F]ound a letter from my wife for which I felt thankful. [A]ll well for which I thank my Father in Heaven for his goodness to those I love. Spent the eve[ning] in reading scripture.

⁵⁰ In England the title “squire” referred to a rural landowner—a country gentleman—as a sign of respect. No doubt, Roberts knew the British meaning. He frequently used the word in this context while in the South.

⁵¹ Roberts likely refers to his life-long struggle with alcohol. At the same time, he struggled with depression and severe headaches, all of which may have been related—alcohol being a medication for headaches, for instance (see the diary entry for 20 September 1883).

⁵² Benjamin Bright was a forty-two-year-old farmer living in Wilson County with his thirty-three-year-old wife, C. Bright, and their four children. See the entry for 4 September 1881 for Benjamin’s baptism.

⁵³ A nearby rocky glade provided the name of the town, Gladesville.

⁵⁴ See note 44.

[February 1, 1881] This morning I am unwell and after trying in vain [to] sit <up> and study I had to l<a>y down. The people here w eat corn bread all the time and it is very heating and we are also under the necessity of eating bacon which is not good. I pray God to enable me to keep in [good] health, however, for I desire to stay here and preach the Gospel.

After sleeping about three hours I woke up feeling much better for which I am thankful.

Walked to a Mr. [Jerome] Baird's where we had an ap[pointmen]t. A good many came to hear us and we had a pleasant time.

[February 2, 1881] We went to a shoe maker where we got our boots mended. After which we went to Jerome Baird[']s where we had another ap[pointmen]t to preach. Good attendance, but few seemed to seriously consider what we said.

[February 3, 1881] Spent 2 hours reading at Mr. Baird[']s, then walked some four miles to a Mr. [G. P. "Perk"] Huddleston's⁵⁵ a keeper of game chickens. He had about five hundred fighting cocks.

We held meeting at his house[,] quite a number being present.

[February 4, 1881] Spent the morning in conversation with Mr. Huddleston & family. Walked to the post office[,] rec[eived] a letter from Elder H[yrum] Jensen. He had not yet returned to his home, but was staying in Iowa with Mr. [Allen] Hughes.⁵⁶

Walked to Mr. [Ben] Bright[']s with whom we stayed all night.

[February 5, 1881] This morning we met at the old school-house for the purpose of meeting the 4 minesters for whom the people had sent to examine our doctrine.

⁵⁵ G. P. Huddleston was a fifty-five-year-old who lived in Wilson County with his wife, daughter, and son-in-law. Roberts notes that Huddleston was "generally known throughout the neighborhood as Uncle Perk. He had little taste for raising cotton or corn, but because of a nature given to his easy and luxury loving complex, he followed the rather fashionable vocation in that region of raising specially trained game chickens, which he himself had developed. The Huddleston brand was very widely known ... throughout the United States for fighting ... and also for breeding purposes." See Autobiography, 130.

⁵⁶ See note 5.

It seems that but one appeared, a Mr. A. [H.] Alsup of the Campbellite faith.⁵⁷

We made arrangements for the debate by choosing three moderators: He choosing one[,] we another. John Sanders was our chairman, his [Alsup's] choice Mr. Grieg of the same faith as himself. These two chose a third, Mr. Martin a Methodist <Baptist> preacher.

Question: the teaching of Mormonism contradicts the Common Bible known as the King James translation. We agreed at first to have half an hour each.

The gentleman [Alsup] then began his endeavors to prove the B[ook] of M[ormon] false. Stated that it contained an ac[coun]t of some of the people on this continent of America being taken for priests [under the Mosaic law].

Now the Bible said the Tribe of Levi was taken to minister before the Lord and therefore here was a contradiction that would condemn the whole system.

Ans[wer:] That the B[ook] of M[ormon] contains such [an] ac[coun]t we do not deny. But that this is contrary to the Bible we do deny. For while the Priesthood was conferred upon the tribe of Levi, it nowhere says that no one else shall be called.

Samuel, son of Elkanah, ministered before the Lord and wore a portion of the Priesthood clothing: 1 Samuel, 1st to second ch[apter].

In the 16 ch[apter,] 1-6 verse we find <him> purifying the household of Jesse yet Samuel was not a Levite.

Elijah also offered sacrifices I Kings 18:32-37. And he was a Tishbite I Kings 17:1.

The people were then living under the Mosaic law, yet we find the Lord choosing men that are not of the Tribe of Levi to minister before him.

Then if He chose men on the other con[tinent] other than the

⁵⁷ A. H. Alsup (1829-?) is listed in the 1880 Census as a farmer and preacher living in Wilson County with his wife, Nancy, their three children, and a servant. "The Campbellite faith" refers to the denomination founded by Alexander Campbell in the 1830s, first known as the Christian Church and later as the Disciples of Christ. Roberts says Alsup was a "noted preacher ... throughout central Tennessee. He was ... noted as a debater. In fact, it was his boast that he had never engaged in debate but what he had driven his opponent from the platform. He was tall and gaunt in stature, bearded and aggressive." See *Autobiography*, 123.

Levites to minister before him, is there any conflict? Between Bible [and] B[ook] of M[ormon].

The next position of our opponent was that in the B[ook] of M[ormon it] <was> taught the Gospel of Christ before the Saviour came into the world.

He claimed the bible did not do this, and that the beginning of the Gospel was when John came preaching in the wilderness. Matt[hew] 11. Hence there was a contradiction that could not be reconciled.

To this we replied that the Gospel was preach[ed] unto those who lived in ancient times according to the scriptures +cc. As I anticipate writing this matter for the newspaper I will make no further record of it here, but when printed will paste the same in the diary.

The debate lasted four hours on Saturday.

[February 6, 1881] I was unwell nearly all day[,] had to retire and feel badly indeed.

[February 7, 1881] Debated 5 hours with A. Alsup.

[February 8, 1881] Continued to Debate, lasted 5 hours and closed. The full account to be given hereafter.⁵⁸

[February 9, 1881] Still have a severe attack of headache, making it difficult for me to attend to anything. the only work I accomplished was writing a letter to Pres. W[illiam] R[.] Smith.⁵⁹

[February 10, 1881] Still am unwell especially in the morning. In the afternoon went in search of a place to baptize Mr. [William]

⁵⁸ An account was published in the *Deseret Evening News*, 24 February 1881. See diary entry for 14 February 1881.

⁵⁹ Roberts's father-in-law, William Reed Smith, was president of the Davis stake in Davis County, Utah, which included Roberts's home town of Centerville. William was born in Canada in 1826 and married Emeline Leavitt (1832-88) in 1853 in Salt Lake City. Louisa Smith, Roberts's wife, was the oldest of eight children. William later married Amelia M. Cherry (1838-1923) in 1856, Mary Elizabeth Ricks (1843-1929) in 1857, and Elanor Felshaw (1850-1903) in 1867. He served a term in the Utah Territorial Prison from 31 March to 21 July 1888 and paid a \$300 fine for unlawful cohabitation. He died in 1894 in Centerville.

Gwyn[,] found none. Held meeting at his house +c. Beautiful day and night.

[February 11, 1881] Started for the P.O. Met Squ. Sanders who was elated at the result of our debate. [R]ec[eived] letters from Bishop [Nathan] Cheney,⁶⁰ Ja[me]s H. Baird,⁶¹ A[nson] V. Call,⁶² also papers. Called on Mr. J. Bright,⁶³ with whom we [Roberts and Ford] spent the night. We talked a good deal on the principles of the Gospel.

I put the following question: "is there any principle of the Gospel that we have taught that you do not understand[?]" Ans[wer] No I understand it all.

[February 12, 1881] Walked as far as squire Sanders where I wrote a letter to A. V. Call. We spent the eve[ning] with a Mr. [M. W.] Taylor who had treated us with great kindness. We instructed him in the principles of the Gospel.

[February 13, 1881] Ten months ago this morning left home. We had promised a Mr. [William] Gwyn that we would baptize him, but the day was very cold and snow falling. [C]alling on him he preferred to postpone it untill another day[. T]o this we consented. Preached in the eve[ning].

[February 14, 1881] This morning was clear but still cold. Bro Ford

⁶⁰ Nathan Beebe Cheney was bishop of the Centerville, Utah, ward from 1877 through 1888. He was born in 1843 in Nauvoo, Illinois, and came to Utah with his parents at age seven. He married Mary Ann Walton (1843-1927) in 1867 and Elizabeth Ann Whitaker (1870-1947) in 1886. He died in 1932 in Centerville.

⁶¹ Baird was a blacksmith in Centerville. As a young man, Roberts was apprenticed to him, and Baird played an important role in encouraging Roberts to become involved with the Young Men's Club of Centerville, later the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association (YMMIA). James Baird was born in 1848 in Quincy, Illinois. A veteran of Utah's Black Hawk War, he was also a farmer and school trustee in Centerville. He married Fannie Sessions (1855-1908) in 1870 and Margaret Ellen Randall (1858-1931), in 1880, both in Salt Lake City. He died in 1910 in Syracuse, Utah.

⁶² Anson Vasco Call (1855-1944) was two years older than Roberts and a childhood friend. He was baptized into the LDS church by Roberts's step-father, Seth Dustin. Call became superintendent of the Davis stake YMMIA in 1880. He later moved to Star Valley, Wyoming, where he was second counselor in the stake presidency. See *Autobiography*, 45-46.

⁶³ John Bright, the sixteen-year-old son of Ben Bright, was living at home with his parents and three siblings. Ironically, John Bright was the name of the ship that brought Roberts to the United States.

called on Mr. Gwyn & Smith and they requested to our joy to be baptized. We made the ap[pointmen]t for four o'clock. I wrote a letter to the Deseret News, also one to Pres. [Franklin] Spencer⁶⁴ reporting our labors. At four a large crowd had assembled to witness the ordinance. After singing & prayer by Bro. Ford, I made a few remarks and Bro. Ford administered the ordinance of baptism to the above named individuals.

[February 15, 1881] Called on Mr. Bright with whom we took dinner. Walked some eight miles to a Mr. [Thomas] Drennon's⁶⁵ where we stayed all night.

[February 16, 1881] We started for a Mr. [John] Hawkins where we arrived at noon. Made an ap[pointmen]t here two weeks ahead.

[February 17, 1881] Today our little girl [Adah] is two years old. O Lord, wilt thou bless her with health of body, & strength of mind that she may live to fill up the measure of her creation in righteousness, Amen. Left Mr. [John] Hawkins, starting for a Mr. Huddleston's⁶⁶ where we arrived and was kindly treated.

Spent the time in conversing with the members of this mans family, some of whom are quite interested.

[February 18, 1881] I feel much better this morning. The last few days have let my mind run upon the things of this world, and in consequence thereof I have become somewhat restless. My mind has been planning how I am to make money in the future, but my business now is to preach the Gospel and I trust God will aid me to keep my mind upon my ministry. Bro. Ford went to the [post] office, but rec[eived] no mail for me which disappointed me sorely.

⁶⁴ Forty-two-year-old Franklin Spencer was a missionary to the southern states from 1879 through 1881 while simultaneously serving as president of the Sevier County stake in Utah from 1877 through 1887. Spencer was born in Kentucky in 1838, joined the LDS church in 1864, and in June of that year married Sarah Jane Dodds (1841-1915) in Denver, Colorado. After coming to Utah, he married Hannah J. Martin (1861-1929) in 1875 and Chloe Durfee (1864-1964) in 1884. He died in 1915 in Colonia Dublan, Mexico.

⁶⁵ Thomas J. Drennon was a thirty-nine-year-old farmer living in Wilson County with his wife, R. J. Drennon, their seven children, and Thomas's mother.

⁶⁶ Huddleston is a common name in the area for black as well as white families, and it is unclear which family Roberts speaks of.

Stayed all night with Mr. Bright to whom we spoke of the principles of the Gospel.

[February 19, 1881] Walked as far as Mr. Erve Sanders where we stayed all night.

[February 20, 1881] We sent down the country some two miles to see if we could get an app[ointment] out fore the eve[ning]. In this we failed. We spent the day in reading and answering questions that were propounded during the day. But we were lonesome & sad for some cause or other. I have not heard from home for more than three weeks and that may have something to do with it. We stayed all night with Sqr. Sanders.

[February 21, 1881] Wrote a letter to my mother.⁶⁷ Went to the P[ost] O[ffice] where I thought [I] would hear from home, but was doomed to disappointment. I am somewhat vexed because I think Louisa must be careless about writing, as I rec[eive] papers all right, and Bro. Ford rec[eives] his mail regularly. Preached to a good congregation in the eve[ning] in a brick school-house. Stayed with Jerome Baird.

[February 22, 1881] Walked to Mr. Huddleston's where we had an ap[pointment]. A good audience assembled and Bro. Joseph spoke first. I followed [and] occupied some hour and 15 minutes on the gift & opperations of the holy Spirit.

[February 23, 1881] Stayed all day at Mr. H[uddleston's] conversing with him and his family. Preach[ed] at his place in eve[ning].

[February 24, 1881] Stayed untill after dinner with Mr. H[uddleston]. Had good opportunity to speak to him of b[ook] of M[or-mon].

⁶⁷ In the letter, Roberts comments on his father-in-law's recent desertion of his mother, noting that she has "not lost much: and I should feel like congratulating you on your *freedom*." Seth Dustin was Ann Everington's third of four husbands. Her second husband, John Nichols, died in a farm accident after two years of marriage. B. H. mentions that he had not "heard from Louisa for one month. I have concluded she has served me like Seth has you. What luck we have. You should go to see her more mother, I know you will be welcome." Roberts to Ann Roberts Dustin, 21 February 1881, box 3, folder 6, Roberts Papers.

We then called on Bro[ther]s Smith and Gwyn with whom we spent the eve[ning].

[February 25, 1881] This morning Mrs. Smith and [Mrs. Betty] Gwyn applied for baptism to which we attended in the afternoon. I officiated. In the eve[ning] we held meeting and confirmed the two above named Sisters. They were the wives of the two brethren baptized some time ago. In the eve[ning] we held meeting and confirmed them members of the church.

[February 26, 1881] Wishing this neighborhood goodbye, we started for Mr. Huddleston's. With him we took dinner, and then walked 14 miles to Mr. [John] Hawkins where they expected us to hold meetings: we were very tired but as a few came together we preached, and gave out an ap[pointmen]t for Sunday afternoon.

[February 27, 1881] We spent the time reading & talking of the Gospel. It will be remembered that they are Josephites and during our stay with them they asked the question "Do you think we shall have to be baptized again in order to become members of the Church of Christ?" We told them yes, that as those who baptized them had no authority to do so their baptism was of no worth. This appeared to distress them, but we understood it to be our duty <so> we pointed out to them the true path for them to walk.

Preached in the eve[ning].

[February 28, 1881] Started for Murfreesboro, a distance of 7 miles, which we reached in time to board the southbound train on which we road to Wartrace,⁶⁸ a little town of perhaps four or five hundred inhabitants. From here we walked a distance of 14 miles to Bro. Princes whom Bro. Carver had secretly baptized. A Mr. Russel came and spent the eve[ning].

[March 1, 1881] After some conversation with Bro. Prince & family we walked as far as Bro. [John] Adam's but found him not at home. We learned that he was greatly disappointed in consequence of the R[ail] R[oad] having broken their contract with Pres. John Morgan which hindered him emigrating this season.

⁶⁸ Wartrace is in Bedford County about fifteen miles northwest of Manchester and about twenty-five miles south of Murfreesboro.

We stayed all day at his place, spending the time in reading, answering letters +c.

[*March 2, 1881*] We started at 10 A.M. for Manchester. Bro. Ford rec[eived] letters but I rec[eived] none untill the afternoon when I rec[eived] a letter from Bishop [John] Haws⁶⁹ who is laboring in Ala[bama].

We made our way to Bro. [Richard] Fagan's where we stayed all night. We were rather coldly rec[eived] by them.

[*March 3, 1881*] We walked this morning to Tullahoma⁷⁰ a distance of 8 mi[les] where we purchased some clothing. I got a whole suit and a pair of shoes. All together cost \$17.40. Bro. Ford kindly let me have the means.

We rode to Belmont Station⁷¹ a distance of 8 miles and there stayed with a Mr. Hinson.⁷² Conversed on history principally.

[*March 4, 1881*] This morning we had considerable talk on religious subjects, he [Hinson] advancing many infidle ideas in regard to man's free agency to which I replied.

We then walked as far as Mr. Fagan's.

[*March 5, 1881*] This morning we called on Sister Julia Angell⁷³ who was glad to see us and told us that Elder [John] Murdock⁷⁴ was here.

We met with him later in the day.

⁶⁹ Thirty-three-year-old John Madison Haws was bishop of the Mona ward, Juab stake, in Utah from 1877 through 1886 and concurrently served a mission to the southern states. He returned to the same mission, 1899-1900. Haws was born in 1847 in Green, Illinois; married Martha Bitner Glazier (1848-1910) in 1866 and Laura Jane Partridge (1851-1946) in 1869 and died in 1916 in Tremonton, Utah.

⁷⁰ Roberts and Ford will be in Coffee County until 22 March.

⁷¹ Belmont Station was near Tullahoma.

⁷² Probably twenty-four-year-old farmer Thomas G. Hinson, who was living in Coffee County with his fifty-two-year-old widowed mother, Mary, and his three siblings.

⁷³ Julia Ann Ingram Angell was born in 1844 in Jefferson, Georgia, to Isaac Alford and Sarah Ann Thompson Ingram. She was Benjamin Ingram's sister (see note 22) and a convert to Mormonism. She married Lawrence Washington Angell (1829-1872) in Manchester in 1867 and would subsequently move to Utah, where she died in Provo in 1920.

⁷⁴ Fifty-four-year-old John R. Murdock was president of the Beaver stake in Central Utah from 1877 through 1891 and concurrently served as president of the Tennessee Conference—the equivalent of a mission district leader in today's nomencla-

[March 6, 1881] We held meeting at Bro. Fagan[']s house. Good interest was manifest, and at the close of our meeting we organized what is to be known as the Manchester Branch.⁷⁵ Bro. Fagan was ordained a teacher over this branch.

[March 7, 1881] Bro. Ford & Murdock crossed Duck River to visit the Saints over there. I went by way of Manchester to poast mail & joined the Brethren at Bro. Adams.

[March 8, 1881] We again crossed the River. Bro. Ford going to Bro. Fagans and Elder [John R.] Murdock and myself to B[ro]. Ingrams who is a member but very cold.

[March 9, 1881] This morning we took leave of Elder Murdock who had to return to Hickman Co[unty]. We have enjoyed his company very much and he has given us much good advice. I pray God to bless him.

~~Thurs 10~~

We went by way of Manchester to Bro. Adams.

[March 10, 1881] Stayed all day at Bro. Adams. Felt listless and lonely. We had intended to have gone to a place [called] Riley's Creek⁷⁶ and seek an opening there: but hearing that sickness was among them we concluded not to go. We were therefore left with comparatively nothing to do.

[March 11, 1881] We went to Manchester & visited the spoke and hub factory. Also the paper mill.

On our way we passed through what is known as the "Stone Fort."⁷⁷ It consists of a number of those mysterious mounds found

ture. The Southern States Mission covered eleven states and about as many mission conferences. Murdock was born in 1826 in Cuyahoga, Ohio. He married Almira Henrietta Lott (1829-1878) in 1849 and Mary Ellen Wolfenden (1826-?) in 1863. In the 1850s-1860s, he played an important role as a captain of the wagon trains that brought Mormon immigrants to Utah. He died in 1913 in Beaver, Utah.

⁷⁵ Apparently, the branch was short lived. In Mormon parlance, a branch is a small ecclesiastical unit presided over by a branch president.

⁷⁶ Riley Creek is a small town in western Coffee County.

⁷⁷ Located near Manchester, Old Stone Fort is a 2,000-year-old Indian ceremonial site sitting on a fifty-acre hilltop consisting of mounds and walls which, combined with cliffs and rivers, form an enclosure measuring over a mile in diameter. The site is

in various parts of the Mississippi Basin. We called at Bro. Princes with whom we talked on the principles of the Gospel.

[March 12, 1881] Started from Bro. Princes to a Mr. Sparks and from there to Manchester. Returned to Bro. Adam's.

[March 13, 1881] This morning suffered from headache which continued all day. Preached in P.M.

[March 14, 1881] Spent the morning in study. Walked to Manchester and then walked to Mr. Princes where we stayed all night.

[March 15, 1881] Started for Noah's Fork⁷⁸ which we reached in time to give out an ap[pointmen]t for that eve[ning]. A goodly number assembled not withstanding the room was uncomfortable.

[At this point, Roberts mentions that he came across a book called *In Search of the Church*⁷⁹ and is making notes from it. He thereupon takes twenty pages to record a range of statistics on world population, membership statistics of religions worldwide, and "wise sayings, quotations, scraps of poetry +c" from various writers including Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden and others. He also mentions his visit with the prophet Joseph Smith's brother, William, in the summer of 1880, and records a blessing given William in 1833, as recorded in the *Times and Seasons*.⁸⁰ Roberts then returns to his daily journal entries.]⁸¹

[March 16, 1881] Preached in the eve[ning] at the M[asonic] H[all].

[March 17, 1881] Studied all day. Preached in the eve[ning]. Had good liberty of the Spirit.

believed to have been a central ceremonial gathering place for some 500 years. Today it is a Tennessee state park.

⁷⁸ Noah's Fork is a small town in northeast Coffee County.

⁷⁹ Roberts probably refers to Sterling Yancey McMasters, *A Methodist in Search of the Church* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1877).

⁸⁰ The *Times and Seasons* was a semi-official LDS publication that ran from November 1839 to February 1846, first published in Commerce (later renamed Nauvoo), Illinois. For a seven month period in 1842, the paper was edited by Joseph Smith. It was an important source of news, conference and mission reports, and announcements of theological and doctrinal issues.

⁸¹ For a fuller discussion of the visit with William B. Smith, see *Autobiography*, 102-7.

[March 18, 1881] Walked to Manchester, and from thence to Bro. Fagans.

[March 19, 1881] Studied nearly all day.

[March 20, 1881] Preached both morning and eve[ning]. Stayed all night with Ben Ingram.

[March 21, 1881] Walked to Manchester where we rec[eived] mail from home which is cheering news. From here went to Bro. Adams where we talked to him of the Gospel.

[March 22, 1881] We concluded to go to Wilson Co[unty] and picked up such things as we thought necessary and started calling on Bro. Prince as we were on our way. The weather was wild and stormy, the roads muddy, but the Lord has blessed us with health so we started for Wartrace⁸² in good spirits. We arrived in time to connect with the N[orth] bound train on which we rode as far as Murfreesboro. We were obliged to walk very fast this morning and to do without dinner untill 3 o'clock. From Mur[freesboro] we walked 10 mi[les] to Mr. [John] Hawkins who received us kindly.

[March 23, 1881]⁸³ This morning is a beautiful one, the storm clouds having passed away. We had much con[versation] with these people upon the marriage covenant. After which we walked 8 mi[les] to a Mr. Drake & from there to Mr. Huddleston's where we remained all night.

[March 24, 1881] Remained all day with Mr. H[uddleston] & studied. In the eve[ning] we talked to his family of various principalls.

[March 25, 1881] We walked to Mr. [Ben] Bright's who appeared pleased to see us. I went to the P[ost] O[ffice]. After returning we call<ed> on Sq. Sanders who also appeared pleased to see us. Spent the night with Mr. Bright, speaking to him of Gospel principles, & made a covenant with the Lord that if he would pour out his Spirit

⁸² Wartrace was settled by the Coffey and Cleveland families in 1809 and named after a Cherokee war trail. It became an important stop on the Nashville-Chattanooga railroad line.

⁸³ From this date until 18 April, with the exception of a few days in Nashville, Roberts will be in Wilson County.

upon me I would be more energetic in spreading abroad the Gospel truths. Also prayed for strength to master my weakness.

[March 26, 1881] Started for Erve Sanders who kindly & heartily received us. I also call[ed] on Bro. Smith & [William] Gwyn with whom we spent the eve[ning].

[March 27, 1881] We had an ap[pointmen]t for today at the school-house. The weather was cool and for a time we thought no one was going to come but a number gathered in and we addressed them. We accompanied Sqr. Sanders to his home and stayed with him all night. He told us he was satisfied that someone was to come with the Gospel, as he verily believed that none of the societies he was acquainted with were teaching the truth.

[March 28, 1881] Quite a number of gentlemen gathered at Sq. Sanders house this morning and with them we conversed on some of the principles of the truth. After which we walked to Lebanon & from thence to Nashville where we arrived at 5 o'clock and put up at the Nicholson House.

[March 29-30, 1881] We had heard that Bro. Jno. Morgan was in town, so we went to the P[ost] O[ffice] and left a card telling him we were in town and would like to see him. From here we went to the Capitol and visited both houses of the legislature. In the afternoon we spent the time in the Y.M.C.A. reading various matters.

Stayed all night at the Eve hotel. [V]isited various places of interest and in the afternoon started for Lebanon on the 30[th] arriving there at 6 o'clock. We walked 11 miles to Sq. Sanders.

[March 31, 1881] Being tired we rested pretty much all day going as far as Ben. Brights with whom we stayed all night.

[April 1, 1881] Spent the day in going from house to house teaching the Gospel. Up to date since I have been in Tenn[essee] have walked 560 mi[les], rode in R[ail] R[oad] 160, held 38 pub[lic] meetings, 3 days debate.

[April 2, 1881] Walked five miles. Spent the time in going from place to place teaching.

[April 3, 1881] Walked 2 mi[les] to our place of service. I preached 1 hour and 50 min[utes] on the Divine Authority of J[oseph] S[mith's] mission and bore a faithful testimony.

Stayed with Sq. Sanders and of course we spoke of the principles of the Gospel.

[April 4, 1881] Walked 6 mi[les]: called first on the P[ost] Master, but we had no mail. We then went to a place called Friendship⁸⁴ where we went to Ben Bright's with whom we remained all night.

[April 5, 1881] Bro. Joseph [Ford] and myself parted at Mr. Bright's for the purpose of visiting different parts of the neighborhood. I called on Mr. Huddleston but they manifest but little interest, and I have talked so much, and bourn my testimony to them that they are fully warned, so also are the people here and they say they believe, but they do not obey and I leave them in the hands of God. Many false stories are afloat concerning our people, and for instances that all are compelled to go to Utah or give up this faith, pay 1/4 of all their prosperity, and of all they make +c These false-hoods are related by Dr. [J. B.] Richmond⁸⁵ & others.

[April 6, 1881] Walked 4 mi[les]. On call[ing] at the P[ost] O[ffice], we received mail from home after which we went to Friendship to fill our ap[pointmen]t. We called on several people but most of their families were unwell so they desired us to go elsewhere, we finally went to the S[chool] H[ouse] to wait there untill meeting time should come: we were asked to supper however by a Mr. Coleman. Some 15 or 20 came to hear and we walked home with a Mr. Hobbs.

[April 7, 1881] Walked 5 mi[les]. Started on this morning to find Mr. Lancer, distributed tracts by the way. Had quite a conversation with him. I think we shall get an opening there. Returned to Mr. Hobbs and answered letters. A rain storm arose which prevented meeting.

⁸⁴ A small community in Wilson County, apparently named after the Friendship Primitive Baptist Church, approximately nine miles south of Lebanon near Murfreesboro Road.

⁸⁵ Richmond, a forty-nine-year-old physician, lived in Wilson County with his thirty-nine-year-old wife, M. A., his twenty-five-year-old nephew, C. S. Powell, and Rebecca Puckett, a fifty-five-year-old school teacher.

[April 8, 1881] Walked 7 mi[les]: Went to the Herrin s[chool] h[ouse] where about 15 or 20 men had gathered to whom we spoke. Bro. Ford rec[eived] news by which he supposed his mother to be dead which <caused> a spirit of gloom <to be> was thrown over us.

[April 9, 1881] Stayed all night with Mrs. [Jane] Gwyn. Preached at her son's house to an attentive audience.

[April 10, 1881] Preached both morning & eve[ning]. Congregation more interested than ever.

[April 11, 1881] Walked 12 mi[les]. Called on Sqr. Sanders, preached in the Gwyn neighborhood.

[April 12, 1881] Studied all day: preached in the eve[ning].

[April 13, 1881] Walked 8 mi[les]. Stayed all night with Bro. [William] Gwyn's house. I felt gloomy & sad, and I find I cannot slack my dilligence for a moment. As Eternal Dilligence villigence is the price of liberty, so is Eternal Dilligence the prince of purity of mind.

[April 14, 1881] Walked 8 mi[les]. Preached to a good sized audience. Mr. Gwyn has treated us with great kindness proposing to let his hands quit work an hour earlier in order to attend meeting.

[April 15, 1881] Studied all day. Preached in the eve[ning]. Some are believing our teachings.

[April 16, 1881] We talked to Mr. Maybs[. H]e is favorable so also is his wife. We then walked 8 miles calling on Mr. Bright, Sanders & Taylor[,] all of whom we told of our meeting on Sunday.

[April 17, 1881] Studied all morning. At 11 o'clock a good congregation assembled. We both enjoyed good liberty and many believed our doctrine, but through pride & fearfulness they still hold off. A [Mr.] M. [W.] Taylor and Tho[mas] Sanders⁸⁶ expressed a de-

⁸⁶ Apparently Thomas Sanders, the twenty-year-old son of J. Irving Sanders living with his family in Wilson County. See footnote 41.

termination to join the church before long. A number of young ladies also said they were going to before long. They enquired where we were going that ...⁸⁷ we might talk to them further.

A number of them came to Scur. Sanders where we had further opportunity of teaching them the Gospel.

[April 18, 1881] Walked 8 mi[les]. Held no meetings, but talked much with a Mr. Rob[ert] Gwyn.⁸⁸

[April 19, 1881] Walked 27 mi[les]. Rode on train 20 mi[les]. Started from Wilson Co[unty] to Coffee Co[unty] traveling as noted above.⁸⁹ Arrived at Bro. Princes in the eve[ning].

[April 20, 1881] Walked 2 mi[les] to Bro. Adams where we remained all day reading. Passed a very bad night because of varmin.

[April 21, 1881] Walked 4 mi[les]. Crossed Duck River to Bro. Fagan's found him feeling [word left out] also family. While resting here Sister Julia Angell came in[, and] we were very much pleased to see her. We visited a Mr. [Benjamin] Easley⁹⁰ and taught him some portions of the Gospel. Stayed all night with Bro. Fagan.

[April 22, 1881] This morning we again called on Mr. Easley & family: after talking to him some time he concluded to be baptized and set the time for Sunday next.

Called on Sister [Julia] Angell with whom we stayed till afternoon. Bro. Ford crossed the river for the purpose of ~~crossing~~ <visiting> the Saints. I stayed with Bro. Ingram: he is very cold and indifferent.

[April 23, 1881] This morning called on Mr. Anderson. Helped bro. Jos[eph Ford] across the river. Stayed with Bro. Fagan.

[April 24, 1881] We baptized a Benjamin Easley and wife this morn-

⁸⁷ Roberts repeats the word "that" three times.

⁸⁸ Robert L. Gwyn was a thirty-three-year-old farmer living in Wilson County with his wife and daughter.

⁸⁹ Roberts will spend the next week in Coffee, Cannon, and Rutherford Counties before returning briefly to Nashville.

⁹⁰ Benjamin Easley was a thirty-six-year-old farmer living in Coffee County with his thirty-three-year-old wife, Nancy, and three children. See entry for 24 April 1881.

ing. Bro Ford officiating. I confirmed Bro. Easley. Meeting held at 10-30. All the Saints were present except two. We bid adieu to the Saints here[,] crossed the river [and] walked 5 mi[les] and preached to a good number who were assembled at the house of Bro. Adams. We then bid farewell to him and family, and stayed with a Mr. Parks who is, apparently, much interested.

[April 25, 1881] Early this morning we started for Wartrace, 12 miles, we then rode 25 miles on the train to Murfreesboro where we met Robert Gwyn according to agreement, who took us some 12 mi[les] to his home where we remained untill morning.

[April 26, 1881] Walked 9 mi[les] going first to Baird's Mills and then to Mr. Bright's from here to Erve Sanders. We called on Bro. Smith & [William] Gwyn, and bid them goodbye. We made arrangements with a son of Mr. Sanders to carry us to Stringtown.⁹¹

[April 27, 1881] Early this morning we started for the train. We rode 7 miles through a very rough road, and the recent rains had made them almost impassable. We then walked two mi[les] down the track to another station. From here it is 22 mi[les] to Nashville.

We arrived in Nash[ville] at 10 o'clock where we met Elders [John] Morgan and [Alphonzo] Snow⁹² who greeted us kindly. Bro. Snow was an old schoolmate and I enjoyed meeting him very much.

We spent the day in visiting places of interest and listening to the counsels of Bro. Morgan. At night we witnessed the opening of the exhibition.⁹³ Saw for the first time the electric light, a display of fire work +c.

[April 28, 1881]⁹⁴ Had the pleasure of meeting this morning five el-

⁹¹ Stringtown is a small town in northern Cannon County, east of Rutherford and north of Coffee Counties.

⁹² Twenty-two-year-old Alphonzo Houtz Snow had been a classmate of Roberts at the University of Deseret. He was born in Salt Lake City in 1858 to Apostle Lorenzo Snow and his plural wife Eleanor Houtz Snow. Alphonzo was set apart for his mission to the southern states on 7 April 1881 by Apostle John Henry Smith. He married Minnie Loveland (1866-1906) in 1884 and Grace M. Gaylord (1862-?) in about 1863. He died in 1933 in Salt Lake City.

⁹³ Roberts refers to the Nashville Centennial Exposition held in 1881.

⁹⁴ Roberts will spend the next week in Hickman and Maury Counties, southwest

ders just from home named as follows: Ja[me]s Hammond,⁹⁵ Jos[eph] W. Thatcher,⁹⁶ J[ohn] Carlisle,⁹⁷ O[scar] M. Fullmer,⁹⁸ Geo[rge] Parkinson.⁹⁹ Three of these brethren went on to the South, the others accompanied us. We rode at 45 mi[les] through a beautiful country to Columbia,¹⁰⁰ where we were met by Elder [John R.] Murdock who had come to meet us in a wagon. We rode 15 mi[les] to Shady Grove.¹⁰¹ The country & people present a much better appearance than where I have been laboring. We were ferried over the river by the pres[ident] of the Shady Grove Branch with whom Bro. Hammond and myself stayed all night. This is a very interesting family [the family of Isaac Emmons Church]¹⁰² and they made me welcome.

of Nashville and west of Rutherford County, before returning to Wilson County east of Nashville.

⁹⁵ Twenty-four-year-old James Thaddeus Hammond was born in Farmington, Utah, in 1856 and was set apart for his mission on 7 April 1881 by Apostle Francis M. Lyman. He returned home to Logan, Utah, in 1882 to marry Elinora Blair (1860-1919) the next year. He became Utah's first Secretary of State in 1895. He died in 1942.

⁹⁶ Twenty-two-year-old Joseph Wycoff Thatcher Jr. was born in Payson, Utah, in 1859. He was set apart for his mission on 7 April 1881 by Apostle John Henry Smith. He married Cordelia Heath (1867-1940) in 1897 in Logan, Utah, and died in 1951.

⁹⁷ Twenty-three-year-old John Edward Carlisle was born in 1858. He was set apart for his mission on 7 April 1881 by Apostle Francis M. Lyman. He married Eliza Caroline Goodrich (1865-88) in 1885 and Emma Jennings (1862-?) in 1889, both in Logan, Utah. He died in 1936 in Logan.

⁹⁸ Twenty-eight-year-old Oscar Myron Fullmer was born in Salt Lake City in 1852. He married Harriet P. Williams (1857-1931) a week before he was set apart for his mission on 14 April 1881 by counselor to the Quorum of the Twelve, Daniel H. Wells. Fullmer died in Payson, Utah, in 1934.

⁹⁹ Twenty-three-year-old George Chandler Parkinson was born in Kaysville, Utah, in 1857 and married Lucy Maria Doney (1861-1931) in April 1881 in Salt Lake City. That same day, he was set apart by Apostle Joseph F. Smith for his mission to the southern states. He married Fannie Woolley (1857-?) in 1902 and died in Salt Lake City in 1920.

¹⁰⁰ Columbia, the Maury County seat, is located approximately fifty miles southwest of Nashville.

¹⁰¹ Shady Grove was a neighborhood outside of Duck River, Hickman County, about fifteen miles west of Columbia. This is where Robert Church's "spacious log plantation home" was located, as well as the headquarters of the Tennessee Conference. See *Autobiography*, 129, 137; *Defender of the Faith*, 138; notes 106, 144.

¹⁰² Isaac Emmons Church was born in 1820 in Shady Grove, Tennessee, to Abraham and Mary Jones Emmons Church. His brothers, George and Robert, were also residents of Hickman County and Latter-day Saints. Isaac lived in Duck River with his second wife, Mary (1825-?), and two teenage daughters. His first wife, Paralee White, died in 1851. Isaac died in November 1896 in Duck River.

[April 29, 1881] This morning the Elders meet together and as there were 14 of us we had a very agreeable time. Bro. Morgan gave instruction that was of benefit or at least will be in the future. We separated about 5 P.M. I accompanied Bro. [Lorenzo] Hunsaker¹⁰³ to one Bro. Coleman's¹⁰⁴ where we had a very agreeable time. He was afflicted but bore it patiently.

[April 30, 1881] This morning the Elders and Saints met in conference; not many strangers were present. Several of the brethren related their experiences and made what remarks they felt <to be> proper.

In the afternoon Bro. Morgan showed how necessary it was for the Elders to keep a record and in it to record the names of those who had in any way assisted us in our labors in connection with other brethren. I spoke this afternoon. Stayed all night with a Mr. Anderson.

[May 1, 1881] Met with the brethren for a walk this morning. Continued our con[ference]. At the ap[ointed] hour partook of the Sacrament, and voted for the officers of the Church. Bro. [John R.] Murdock — Pres[ident] of Beaver Stake of Zion — was released to return home, and Elder Hyrum Belnap¹⁰⁵ was chosen pres[ident] of the Tenn[essee] conference. The large M[ethodist] E[piscopal] Church at Shady Grove gave us the use of their church.

A large congregation assembled to which Elder John Morgan preached a powerful discourse. At night the Rev. Mr. [W. L.] Dye¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Twenty-two-year-old Lorenzo Hunsaker was set apart for his mission by Apostle Lorenzo Snow on 9 October 1879. He was born in Brigham City, Utah, in 1859. He married Florida Isador Castile (1862-1930) and Sarah Nye (1869-1924) on the same date in 1886 in Salt Lake City. He died in Prescott, Arizona, in 1941.

¹⁰⁴ This is presumably Rufus Coleman. His son, Robert Alexander Coleman, is mentioned in the entry for 15 September and will prove to be courageous and useful in the wake of the Cane Creek Massacre in August 1884 when he helps Roberts retrieve the missionaries' bodies. Robert Coleman was born 30 July 1863 and will convert to the church at some unknown date. See *Defender of the Faith*, 410n40.

¹⁰⁵ Twenty-three-year-old Hyrum Belnap was born in Ogden in 1858. He was set apart for his mission by Apostle Brigham Young Jr. on 14 June 1879. While in Tennessee he baptized the first converts in Cane Creek. He returned home to marry Christina Rasmussen (1863-1928) in 1883 and Anna Constantia Bluth (1869-1931) in 1888. In 1889 he founded Belnap Lumber and would serve as Weber County Assessor and Deputy County Clerk. He died in Ogden in 1938.

¹⁰⁶ Dye was a forty-nine-year-old preacher and farmer living in Hickman County with his wife, Alice, and six children.

attempted to answer and succeeded in showing the weakness of his own position.

[May 2, 1881] Started this morning from Duck River¹⁰⁷ in company with Pres. Murdock, Elders Ford, Snow & Hammond. Elder Snow was to be my traveling companion and we were to labor with <in> Wilson Co[unty], the other two Elders were to labor in Coffee Co[unty]. Elder Morgan desired that I should take lead of our labors in these t[w]o co[unties] and extend our field of labor further East. We hired a wagon to take us to Columbia where we arrived in time to take the Nashville bound train <15 mi[les].> We have had an excellent time at con[ference] A good spirit prevailed—the Saints are hospitable and tender hearted. I formed many associations both with Saints & Elders that will long be remembered among the Saints, the several families of Churches¹⁰⁸ and all the Elders.

In the eve[ning] we all went to the Exposition now being held in Nashville. I first saw the Electric light, of course the items of interest are to[o] numerous to mention here.

[May 3, 1881] Spent the forenoon in visiting the Capitol described elsewhere. A beautiful view can be obtained of the city. Elders Murdock & Ford were my companions.

In the afternoon we attended the races. Bro. Murdock paying my fair.

Bro. Snow let me <have> \$5.00.

*[May 4, 1881]*¹⁰⁹ Weather — both sunshine & rain. Rode 22 mi[les] on R[ail] R[oad]. Walked 8 mi[les]. Traveled from Nashville to Sander's Mill.¹¹⁰ Elders Hammond & Snow went on to Lebanon. After walking some two or three miles I was taken very ill. Could only walk fifty or a hundred yards without sitting down. Elder Ford ad-

¹⁰⁷ Duck River was the nearest town to Shady Grove where so many Tennessee church members lived.

¹⁰⁸ This reference to "several families of Churches" is to three brothers: Robert R., Isaac Emmons, and George B. Church, who with their families constituted an important part of the LDS membership in Hickman County.

¹⁰⁹ After visiting in Nashville for a few days, Roberts will spend the period from 5 May to 13 September in Wilson County.

¹¹⁰ Roberts may mean Saundersville, a small community on the Cumberland River near Nashville, or a crossroads named after a mill owned by one of the numerous Sanders residents of the area.

ministered to me, after which I began to feel a little stronger: arrived at Bro. [William] Gwyns at 9-30.

[May 5, 1881] Weather — warm and sultry during day having rained <at> night. Walked 10 miles. Leaving Bro. Gwyn's we went to the P[ost] O[ffice] where we found Elders Snow & Hammond waiting for us. Rec[eived] mail from my wife — all well for which I thank God. Letters from M[elvin] Randall;¹¹¹ and H. Barker Iowa.¹¹²

Elders Ford & Hammond went to Sq. Sanders. Elder Snow & myself went to Drennon neighborhood. Stayed all night with a Mrs. [Jane] Gwyn. Met several friends.

[May 6, 1881] Wilson Co[unty,] Tenn.
 { Weather - fine after
 { the rain last night

Visited among our friends — called on Thomas Drennon: made an ap[pointmen]t at his house for the night.

Met Elders Ford & Hammond in the middle of the afternoon. Held meeting. Bro. H[ammond] & Snow occupied part of the time. I followed. Stayed all night with R[ober]t Gwyn.

[May 7-13, 1881] Wilson [County]

From Saturday [to] Sunday we held two meetings. The other Brethren occupied the time in the morning, I spoke in the afternoon.

James Sanders¹¹³ came to me and desired to debate. I told him [we] were very busy preaching the Gospel, so refused. At the close of the forenoon meeting, however, he said that at ~~th~~ on the following Sunday he intended to expose us.

From this time to the 13[th] I remained in the same neighborhood. Nothing of moment occurred but the departure of Eld[er]s

¹¹¹ Melvin Harley Randall was a member of the Centerville, Utah, ward bishopric. He was born in 1852 in Salt Lake City and lived there and in Ogden before settling in Centerville. He became Centerville's bishop in 1899. He married Francis Rebecca Phelps (1853-1937) in 1875 and served a mission in the southern states in 1900-02. He died in Centerville in 1930.

¹¹² Probably twenty-year-old Henry Barker, a farm hand living in Story, Union County, Iowa.

¹¹³ Possibly J. W. Sanders, a twenty-eight-year-old farmer living in Wilson County with his nineteen-year-old wife, C. E. D. Sanders.

Ford and Hammond to Coffee Co[unty] on the 11[th]. The weather has been exceedingly warm.

[May 14, 1881] Wilson Co[unty].

Walked 5 mi[les] {Weather clear & warm
Read much all day on Milton's "Paradise Lost." Conversed in the eve[ning] to those who gathered together.

[May 15, 1881] Wilson Co[unty,]Tenn. {Weather fine

Walked 3 mi[les]. {and warm

Held 2 meetings.

Stayed all night with Moses Drennon¹¹⁴ who treated us with kindness. We learned that Ja[me]s Sanders today delivered the lecture on "Mormonism," but from all I can learn he was not successful.

[May 16, 1881] Wilson Co[unty,] Tenn. {Weather clear and

Walked 9 miles. {warm

Stayed all night with Mr. Bright.

[May 17, 1881] Wilson Co[unty,] Tenn

Walked 9 mi[les]. {Warm & clear

[May 18, 1881] Wilson Co[unty,] Tenn.

Walked 10 mi[les]. {Warm & clear

Rec[eived] mail from home. Wrote letters to wife, [Louisa,¹¹⁷ and W. C. Staynes [Staines],¹¹⁵ N.Y. Stayed all night with Mrs. [Jane] Gwyn.

[May 19, 1881] Walked 14 mi[les]. {Warm & clear

Preached in the eve[ning].

We walked to Smyrna,¹¹⁶ where we met Mr. Geo[rge] Gwyn¹¹⁷ who provided dinner for us. He it was who asked us to visit this

¹¹⁴ Moses Drennon was a forty-two-year-old farmer living in Wilson County with his forty-year-old wife, Mahaley, and several of their children.

¹¹⁵ William Carter Staines (1818-1881) was the longtime church emigration agent. He spent much of his time in New York City.

¹¹⁶ Smyrna is located in Rutherford County, midway between Murfreesboro and Nashville.

¹¹⁷ Probably twenty-five-year-old G. W. Gwyn who lived in Wilson County with his wife and infant daughter.

place. He had made arrangements for us to preach at the Masonic Hall, but one Mr. Moore objected the afternoon we arrived there.

Geo. Gwyn then obtained a vacated store for us to preach in, and fixed up seats and lighted the same. A goodly number gathered in and we addressed them and succeeded in moving much predjudice.

We were invited home by one Mr. Gregory.

[May 20, 1881] Rutherford, Co[unty].

Preached in eve[ning].

{ Weather warm dry

Studied nearly all day: Mr. Moore continued his objections and said we should not use the Masonic Hall: Mr. Gregory said he would see that we had the hall, but no difficulty arose. We preached in the hall, but only a few came to hear.

[May 21, 1881] Rutherford Co.

Walked 18 mi[les].

{ Weather sultry

{ and warm

Walked from Smyrna to Mr. Huddleston's. Stopped a while at Jefferson¹¹⁸ and applied for a house. A Mr. Harris promised to try to get one for us.

[May 22, 1881] Wilson Co[unty,] Tenn.

Preached in
the morning

{ Shower during

{ the night.

Took dinner with Mr. [M. W.] Taylor with whom we conversed on the 23 ch[apter] of Isa[iah]. Made a good impression.

[May 23, 1881] Wilson Co[unty,] Tenn.

Walked 5 mi[les].

{ Rained all night

Walked to P[ost] O[ffice] and from there to Mr. Huddleston's where we remained two days.

[May 25, 1881] Walked 12 mi[les]. { Weather fair.

Went to Rutherford Co[unty]. Called on Mr. [John] Hawkins who treated us with kindness.

[May 26, 1881] Walked to
Gwyns - 8 mi[les]

{ Weather cloudy

{ with showers

¹¹⁸ A few miles northeast of Smyrna.

Stayed with Robert Gwyn's. Conversed with him and others on Baptism for the dead.

[May 27, 1881] {Weather fair.

We remained in the 20[th] Dis[trict]¹¹⁹ and fixed the grove for our meeting on Sunday.

[May 28, 1881] Rode 24 mi[les]. {Weather fair

Went <to> Lebanon to meet Elder Morgan who came on the 6-10 train. Had a pleasant trip.

[May 29, 1881] {Weather fair

A very good audience gathered in the grove, and Elder Morgan addressed them: They gave him marked attention.

In the afternoon Elder [Hyrum] Belnap addressed the congregation after which a gentleman asked a question — Are you called of God if so how — in what way.

Elder Morgan answered the question in an address nearly one hour in length.

In the eve[ning] we all went to Mr. Huddleston, where we enjoyed the instruction of Pres. Morgan.

[May 30, 1881] {Weather fair

This morning we retired to the woods where we all nelt in prayer in behalf of the people of this neighborhood.

Bro. Belnap and myself stay'd at Mr. Hud[dleston's] until the afternoon when we went to Mr. Brights where we remained all night.

[May 31, 1881] Walked 8 mi[les]. {Weather fair

This eve[ning] we held meeting. Not many came, but good interest was manifest.

Bro. Belnap & Snow occupied the time. The other brethren stayed at J. Taylor's¹²⁰ & at Mr. Brights.

¹¹⁹ Apparently Roberts refers to the Wilson County enumeration district for the recently completed 1880 federal census.

¹²⁰ J. W. Taylor was a twenty-five-year-old farmer living in Wilson County with his twenty-two-year-old wife, E. J. Taylor.

[June 1, 1881] Walked 8 [miles].¹²¹ I wrote to my wife. Bro. Snow and Belnap came to Mr. Brights. I went to the P[ost] O[ffice]. Rec[eived] letter <from> wife. We then walked to Drennon's where we had an ap[pontmen]t but the weather was stormy and no one came out. Stayed at Tho[mas] Drennon's.

[June 2, 1881] Walked 6 [miles]. {Weather fair

Leaving Tho[mas] Drennon's we walked to Mr. Huddleston's where we all took dinner, and from there went to Bro. Gwyn's where we remained all night.

[June 3, 1881] Rode 6 mi[les]. Still warm, clear.

I rode to the P[ost] O[ffice]. rec[eived] from Bro. Jos[eph] Smith¹²² 50 tracts, one Doctrine and Covenants, Pearl of Great Price & a tract on Priest-hood. Stayed at Bro. Gwyn's.

[June 4, 1881] We walked up to Mr. Taylor's where we washed, shaved +c.

At night called on Mr. Bright. Attended a Baptist meeting, nothing of moment occurred.

[June 5, 1881] Held 2 meetings {Weather fair & cool.
walke[d] 6 mi[les].

Held meeting at the Wetmore S[chool] H[ouse].¹²³ Good attendance. Bro. Belnap occupied a portion of the time. I also preached. We then [went] to Herrin S[chool] H[ouse] and held a meeting, was requested to speak on Polygamy but did not feel lead to do so, and therefore refused.

Much bitterness was manifest in this neighborhood and I think our labors will close here soon. I trust that if there be any honest in heart that the Spirit of God will direct them to embrace the Truth. Amen.

[June 6, 1881] Walked 9 mi[les]. Weather warm

¹²¹ The rest of the sentence is undecipherable.

¹²² Roberts's brother-in-law Joseph Smith was born in Centerville, Utah, in 1858 to William R. and Emeline Leavitt Smith. He married Mary Jane Roberts (1858-1928) in 1886 in Logan, Utah, and died in Centerville in 1906.

¹²³ Located near Bairds Mills in Wilson County.

Leaving the Gwyns went as far as Irving Sanders where Bro. Snow and myself stayed all night.

[June 7, 1881] Walked 12 mi[les]. Weather fair

This morning left Bro. Belnap[,] he going to Nashville, Elder Snow and myself starting for Statesville.¹²⁴ We ate dinner at a Mr. Mullen's; had some conversation on religious matters. Left him two tracts and continued our journey. The heat was very oppressive. Stopping in the shade, Bro. Snow laid down and slept. I read a while but soon fell asleep too: on awakening we walked on but had to stop at a man's house by the name of ¹²⁵.

[June 8, 1881] Held 1 meet[ing] {Weather somewhat cloudy
Walked 4 mi[les].

Thanking our friend, we continued our journey arriving in Statesville about 10 o'clock.

We stoped in the store of Mr. [Daniel] Boyd¹²⁶ and soon got into conversation with him and other gentlemen. They desired to hear us preach, so the school-house was obtained and an ap[pointmen]t made for that & the next eve[ning].

A goodly number turned out, but a very severe storm arouse which put out our lights and rather broke in upon our meetings but we had good liberty.

[June 9, 1881] Held 1 meet[ing]. {Clear after the
{storm and warm

Spent the day in traveling around the neighborhood, talking with the people, distributing what tracts we had +cc

Tonight a very large audience assembled[,] all could not find room inside. I preached about 2 hours, good liberty. Stayed again with Mr. Boyd.

[June 10, 1881] Walked 16 mi[les]. {Weather fair but cool

¹²⁴ Statesville is southeast of Bairds Mill in Wilson County.

¹²⁵ Left blank in the original.

¹²⁶ Daniel S. Boyd was a fifty-year-old dry goods merchant living in Statesville, Wilson County, with his thirty-one-year-old wife, Sue, their son, a niece, a brother, a nephew, a peddler, and a servant. Notice the difference in reception when Roberts visits Boyd again on 10 June and he "treated us with kindness, I pray that God will bless him and lead him to the truth" and 9 July when "we went to Mr. Boyd's but he received us very coldly."

This morning we took our leave of Statesville, wished Mr. Boyd farewell. [H]e has treated us with kindness, I pray that God will bless him and lead him to the truth. I received a letter from Elder W[illiam] Palmer.¹²⁷ All well out home. Arrived at Mr. Brights at 1 o'clock where we stayed all night.

[June 11, 1881] Walked 2 mi[les]. {Weather fair, hot

Called on Mr. Huddleston where we spent the day in reading, answering letters +c.

[June 12, 1881] Held 2 meetings {Hot, very hot
Walked 12 mi[les].

Started from Gwyn neighborhood where we had an ap[point-
men]t. Pretty good turnout but many young folks +c.

Both of us spoke on Plural Marriage as much has been said of that principle in this vicinity. Then went to Wetmore S[chool] H[ouse] where we preached again.

Stayed all night with Mr. Taylor.

[June 13, 1881] Rode 20 mi[les].
14 months since leaving home

Started for Lebanon. Mr. Bright lent me a horse. At the P[ost] O[ffice] rec[eived] a letter from Elder Morgan, all well.

I also rec[eived] from Bro. J[oseph] Smith, Pre[sident] of the Seventies Quorum in Centerville \$20. I was needing means to buy several notions +c. Paid Bro. Snow \$5 on what I owed him. Bought

Boots	\$ 6.50
Bible	3.00
tooth brush	.15
knif	.90
Bro. Snow	<u>5.00</u>
	15.55

Stayed all night with Mr. Bright.

[June 14, 1881] Walked 2 mi[les]. {Weath[er] falling

¹²⁷ Thirty-four-year-old William Moroni Palmer was acting president of the Northern States Mission and had accompanied Roberts through Iowa. Palmer was born in Greenwood, Iowa, in 1846 and married Mary Ann Mellor (1846-92) in 1868 and Christina Helen Larson (1862-1953) in 1881. He was set apart for his mission on 9 April 1880 by John Van Cott of the First Council of Seventy. He died in 1929 in Raymond, Alberta, Canada.

Studied nearly all day at Mr. Bright's and from there to Mr. Huddleston's where we remained till night when we walked to Mr. Brown's and stayed all night.¹²⁸

[June 15, 1881] Walked 2 mi[les]. {Cloudy & cool.

Went to Mr. Hud[dleston's] where we remained all day and night. Rec[eived] a letter from wife, she is not well — I pray the Lord will bless her.

[June 16, 1881] Walked 3 mi[les]. {Weather warm

Walked down to <Bro.> Wm. Gwyn's today as agreed: cannot say that they are feeling as well spiritually as could be desired. It had been rumored that Bro. Gwyn said he had been deceived in relation to Polygamy, but this is not true for I had spoken of it to him.

I pray that he will remain faithful.

[June 17, 1881] Walked 3 mi[les]. {Weather warm.

Left Bro. Gwyn's this morning and called on Mr. Huddleston who treated us kindly: we studied all day.

In the eve[ning] spent the time in reading and talking to Mr. H[uddleston] and family.

[June 18, 1881] Walked 12 mi[les]. {Day cool, pleasant

Went to Rutherford Co[unty] and found that Mr. [John] Hawkins had not rec[eived] my letter and therefore no ap[pointmen]t had been given out. Disappointed. Rained.

[June 19, 1881] {Very hot

Spent the day in reading, talking to Mr. Hawkins & family +c.

[June 20, 1881] Walked 9 mi[les]. {Very hot after rain

Started for Cainsville¹²⁹ this morning, where we arrived at 11 o'clock.

Walked into a Mr. [Thomas] Huddleston's store found him

¹²⁸ Roberts told his mother that he and his companion were in "good health" but unable to do much work because of the hot weather. In a rare reference to blacks, Roberts noted that "the white folks put the negro in the harvest field: and they, I think, are fire proof." See letter to Ann Dustin Roberts, 14 June 1881, box 3, folder 6, Roberts Papers.

¹²⁹ Cainsville is located in Wilson County approximately seven miles southwest of Statesville.

and a Mr. Alsup¹³⁰ talking on religious subjects; join[ed] in the conversation which lead to an inquiry as to who we were. On learning we were Mormon Elders they asked us if we would preach to which we replied that we would. Arrangements were made for the S[chool] H[ouse].

A good audience came together. Bro. Snow spoke about 30 minutes. I followed. Continued the ap[pointmen]t for tomorrow night.

[June 21, 1881] Good congregation came out and I occupied 1½ hours speaking on the plan of Salvation. Good attention given. Had stayed all day with Mr. H[uddleston]. He was kind to us, sheltered us, but tried to resist our doctrines. But he having failed to prove them wrong, manifested less opposition.

[June 22, 1881] Walked 8 mi[les]. {Warm, roads muddy
Took leave of our kind friend Mr. H[uddleston] & family. Started for Statesville where we arrived 12-30.

Mr. [Daniel] Boyd received us kindly but his family was rather cool towards us.

After eating dinner walked 2 mi[les] to a Mr. [J. B.] Oakley's¹³¹ to obtain S[chool] H[ouse]. Had to see 2 other directors living 2 mi[les] apart. Obtained their consent and left an ap[pointmen]t for the 1st Sun[day] in July. [W]alked back to Mr O[akley's] where we remained all night. Told him Principles of Gospel.

[June 23, 1881] Walked 16 mi[les]. {Cool and pleasant.
Leaving Mr. O[akley] at 6-30 A.M. we started for Statesville. [W]ater high we had to wade. Passing through Statesville we left out an ap[pointmen]t for the first Sat[urday] there, and then continued our journey. Arrived at Mr. Bright's 12 o'clock. Tired enough having made 16 mi[les] in ½ day. We stayed with Mr. B[right] all night.

[June 24, 1881] Studied all day nearly. Walked in the eve[ning] to Mr. Huddleston's[,] remained all night.

¹³⁰ Apparently this Mr. Alsup is not the Rev. A. H. Alsup. The proprietor of the store, Roberts discovers, is a cousin of Perk Huddleston. See *Autobiography*, 133.

¹³¹ Oakley was a thirty-two-year-old teacher living in Wilson County with his twenty-seven-year-old wife, Saluda, and their three sons.

[June 25, 1881] Studied and wrote several letters. Stayed all night at Mr. H[uddleston's].

[June 26, 1881] Walked 5 mi[les]. Held 2 meet[ings].

Preached at Wetmore's S[chool] H[ouse] but few present. Preached at Bro. Gwyn's in the eve[ning].

[June 27, 1881] Walked 7 mi[les]. {Weather hot

From Mr. Taylor's went to <P[ost] Office, rec[eived] papers. Stayed at Mr. Huddleston's till eve[ning] when we called on Geo. Gwyn who treated us kindly.

[June 28, 1881] Walked 10 mi[les]. {Weather very hot. Held one meet[ing].

Walked from Mr. G[wyn's] to Cainsville. Stopped at Mr. Simpson's where we took dinner. Good audience in the eve[ning]. Stayed all night with Mr. Huddleston.

[June 29, 1881] Stayed with Mr. Simpson all day reading. Preached in eve[ning]. For this time of year good audience both tonight & last night. Gave out an ap[pointmen]t for Friday eve[ning].

[June 30, 1881] Last night a Dr. [M. L.] Rucker¹³² asked us to go to his house. We did so and spent the day reading +c.

Called on Mr. Huddleston with whom we remained all night. A large company of young people came together and spent the eve[ning] in singing, playing and conversing +c. It put me very much in mind of home.

[July 1, 1881] Spent the day in reading. In the afternoon a Methodist came in to ask us questions. He spoke on several things. Objected to several of our principles but when pressed for reasons had none to give. And did not take an honorable course but tried to force us into positions we did not take. His name was McPeake.¹³³ We preached in the eve[ning]. Good attendance.

[July 2, 1881] held one meeting

¹³² Rucker was a thirty-one-year-old physician living with his wife in Wilson County.

¹³³ There are several McPeakes in the area.

Walked 10 mi[les].

Started from Mr. Hudd[leston's] this morning for Statesville. [F]ine day, but I am much distressed by reason of a sever head-ache, had to stop by the way-side — tryed to sleep but did not. Continued our journey and by one o'clock headache stoped. Called on Mr. Cocks,¹³⁴ he rec[eived] us coldly. We told him of our ap[pointmen]t in the villiage below.

Very good audience. I did the preaching. Mr. Boyd kindly rec[eived] us [and] with him we stayed all night.

[July 3, 1881] Walked 3 mi[les]. {Held one meeting.

This morning had a severe head-ache which continued until 12 o'clock. Walked to Oakley S[chool] H[ouse] where we held meeting at 4 o'clock over one hundred were present.

We were invited home with Mr. Oakley's son who treated us kindly.

[July 4, 1881] Walked 17 mi[les]. {Weather very hot.

Walked from here to Mr. Bright's who was glad to see us and made our hearts glad by telling us he had at last concluded to be baptized. Said he had had dreams and he knew that we were right.

[July 5, 1881] Called on Mr. Huddleston who appeared glad to see us, we wrote a letter in ans[wer] to one rec[eived] from Bro. [Joseph] Ford. It seems some minesters desired to debate with the brethren and they desired me to be there and meet them.

I told them however I thought our time could be better employed.

[July 6, 1881] Walked 8 mi[les]. {Weather very hot.

Bro. Snow went to Lebanon, I visited the several families in this neighborhood. Called on Bro. Gwyn[,] talked with him & his family, also held prayers with them. Talked with Mr. Bright.

[July 7, 1881] Walked 9 mi[les]. Held 1 meeting.

The weather was very hot and it took us untill three o'clock to reach a Mr. Simpsons where they were kind enough to prepare dinner for us.

¹³⁴ Probably W. H. Cock, a forty-one-year-old farmer and trader living in Wilson County with his thirty-seven-year-old wife, A. F., and their five children.

A very fair congregation assembled. I addressed them. Stayed with a Mr. Craddock.¹³⁵

[July 8, 1881] Held one meeting. {Very hot

Remained nearby all day in the S[chool] H[ouse]. Studied most all day, but O, what weakness I have in me and how prone to do evil!

Held meeting in the eve[ning]. A large crowd assembled, good attention.

[July 9, 1881] Arose very early this morning in order to make our journey to Statesville before the heat of the day.

We arrived near there at 7 o'clock, but we remained studying +c in the woods. At 12 we went to Mr. Boyd's but he received us very coldly. At night a fair sized audience gathered in[,] to whom I preached [until] 1-30.

Stayed all night with Mr. Boyd.

[July 10, 1881] I arose early leaving Eld[er] Snow in bed, and walked 9 miles to Cainsville. [A]round 11 o'clock preached to a fair sized audience. Many of my friends were displeased because I did not preach that which suited them. At night I preached [to] a very large congregation — good attention.

[July 11, 1881] Bro. Snow came from Statesville about 11 o'clock. We studied all day and preached at night.

[July 12, 1881] This morning we walked two miles to a new neighborhood where we had an ap[pointmen]t for tonight. Called on Mr. Allen.¹³⁶

A few came out to hear us and we both spoke, and left an ap[pointmen]t for Fri[day] night with Mr. Allen.

[July 13, 1881] Walked 15 mi[les].

Walked from Allen's to Cainsville. Called on Mr. <ho[mas]>

¹³⁵ S. H. Craddock was a thirty-four-year-old farmer living in Wilson County with his thirty-four-year-old wife, Lucinda, their seven children, and other family members and boarders.

¹³⁶ W. A. Allen was a thirty-four-year-old farmer living in Wilson County with his thirty-four-year-old wife, M. J., and their four children.

Huddleston. Was introduced to a Mr. Baker a very intelligent gentleman. [T]alked with him all day.

6 o'clock walked to Baird's Mills, 9 miles. Arrived at G. P. Huddleston's 9-30 P.M.

[July 14, 1881] Rested all day. [R]eceived mail from Bro. Ford & Hammond. All well. A number of men had threatened to mob them but the leader was taken ill which stayed proceedings.

[July 15, 1881] Called on Mr. Bright — found his folks sick. We remained all night with them in studying.

[July 16, 1881] Called on G. P. H[uddleston] again where we spent the time in studying.

[July 17, 1881] Walke[d] 2 mi[les]. 1 meeting.

Preached to those who assembled at Wetmore's S[chool] H[ouse]. Not many present, [and] but little interest manifest. Stayed all afternoon with Mr. Taylor. A number were there with whom we conversed: remained all night with Mr. Taylor.

[July 18, 1881] Walked 2 mi[les].

Leaving our friends here to G. P. Hud[dleston's]. I went to the P[ost] O[ffice] & studied the rest of the day.

[July 19, 1881] Remained all day at Mr. Hud[dleston's]. At night I called at Mr. Bright's. He related to me a dream he had some few weeks ago, as follows: "I was plowing in my field & being weary s[a]t down by a tree to rest. I was wondering whether Mormonism was true or not when I fell asleep. A voice said "they are right you need not fear. You shall know they are right by a certain passage of Scripture." Said he, I have been wanting to know that passage. I pray<ed> that it may be shown him or shown unto me that I might acquaint him with it.

[July 20, 1881] Walked 11 mi[les]. hot & dry

Started from Mr. Bright's, and walked to Mr. Craddocks, stopping on my way at Mr. Simpsons to eat dinner.

[July 21, 1882] Held 1 meeting

Studied nearly all day but felt languid and bad. A good congregation assembled. Bro. Snow occupied most of the time.

[July 22, 1882] Held 1 meeting. Walked 3 mi[les].

Went to Mr. Allen's where we remained all day studying. A pretty good congregation. I occupied the time.

[July 23, 1881] Held 1 meeting. Walked 6 mi[les].

We called on Mr. Tho[ma]s Huddleston, he received us rather coldly. On our return we went to the shade. Bro. Snow slept four hours[,] I read. Only a very few came to hear us, and they manifest but little interest. So we <closed> our labors here.

[July 24, 1881] Meetings 2. I walked 12 mi[les].

Leaving Bro. Snow to fill our ap[pointmen]t at Oregon¹³⁷ I walked to Statesville to preach there, or two mi[les] beyond there. Not many came to hear, but the Lord blessed me with his Spirit and I was able to bear a faithful testimony of the truth. Stayed all night with a Mr. Shroud who had called to me in the morning when passing and gave me an invitation to stay with him.

[July 25, 1881] Meetings 1. Walked 6 mi[les].

Leaving Mr. Shrouds I went to a Mr. Stevens where found E[lder] Snow. Stayed here all day. Preached in the eve[n]ing in great plainness.

[July 26, 1881] Walked 12 mi[les].

Leaving Mr. Craddocks, we walked to Cainsville. Gathering up our books we continued our journey to G. P. Huddleston's. Well received.

[July 27, 1881] Wrote letters, studied +c.

[July 28, 1881] Walked 6 mi[les] [to] P[ost] O[ffice]. Called on Mr. Bright where we remained untill [July 30].

[July 30, 1881] Walked 4 mi[les]. Called on Irving Sanders with whom we stayed untill Monday. Held meeting Sunday. Very good turnout met Bro. Smith & family. We remained in this neighbor-

¹³⁷ A small community in Wilson County east of Cainsville.

hood during the week visiting the people, occasionally talking to them of the Gospel. Studied +c. +c.

[August 8, 1881] Held 1 meeting Walked 12 miles

Leaving G. P. Huddleston's early this morning we arrived at Cainsville where we took dinner with T[homas] Huddleston.¹³⁸ Walked on to Oregon in the evening where we preached at 4 P.M. We remained here untill Thursday morning [August 11]: have held meetings Monday, Tuesday & Wednesday nights [with] fair congregations, and the Spirit of God gave us utterance.

[August 11, 1881] Walked 3 mi[les].

I suffered all night with tooth ache. Called on Mr. Tho[mas] Huddleston at his store. [M]et there some traveling commercial men with whom I talked some time on religious principles. Stayed all night with Mr. H[uddleston] who has truly befriended us against such opposition.

[August 12, 1881] Walked 9 mi[les].

Early this morning <(4 A.M.)> started for Baird's Mills. Had lost about two nights sleep on account of tooth ache, and thought had better go in the cool of the day. I was very weak having to sit down often to rest — and did not complete my journey of 7 mi[les] untill ½ past 10 o'clock. I suffered from weakness all day but slept well at night.

[August 13, 1881] Elder Snow came over this morning from B[ro]. Brights [and] brought a letter for me which told me that my little girl was unwell, but by this time I trust she is well. Stayed all night with B[ro]. Bright.

[August 14, 1881] This morning we have an ap[pointmen]t at Bro. Gwyn's. It was cloudy this morning and looked very unfavorable, so not many came out to hear us. We held meeting, and spent the afternoon with the Saints.

[August 30, 1881] From the fourteenth to this date I was traveling about in the neighborhood of Baird's Mills. The only trip I made

¹³⁸ See diary entry for 20 June 1881.

was some two miles to a Mr. Carpenter's where we preached. The brethren from Coffee Co[unty,] Ford & Hammond came to see us, arriving here on the 19th. Bro. Snow and Hammond went to Cainsville. Ford & myself remained here and altogether held 3 public meetings. We also met with the Saints and blessed two children of Bro. Gwyn's, and four of Bro. Smith's.

We have spent the time in conversing with the people and in doing our part in trying to [preach]¹³⁹ to them the Gospel.

We also had prayer circles¹⁴⁰ and have prayed for them. And we trust God has heard our prayers.

We spent the 31 [August], 1, 2, 3 [September] as the above. Several persons applied for baptism.¹⁴¹

[September 4, 1881] We had benches fixed up under Bro. Gwyn's mill-shed and a good congregation came to hear. Bro. Ford spoke first and I followed — had good liberty.

In the afternoon I baptized W[illia]m Barrett,¹⁴² Benj[amin] Bright, Mrs. S. C. Vaughan,¹⁴³ Hennieter Bottoms, and S. Daniels. Elder Jos. Ford and myself confirmed them members of the Church.

[September 5, 1881] Walked to the [post] office, but found no mail. At noon Bro. Snow came in from his trip to Coffee Co[unty]. He had enjoyed his trip, and reports the Saints in the co[unty] are feeling well. He had left Bro. Morgan that morning and says he is feeling well.

[September 6-8, 1881] Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday we re-

¹³⁹ Unclear in the original.

¹⁴⁰ Roberts refers to the practice of missionaries and others gathering in a circle to offer a special prayer.

¹⁴¹ In a letter to his mother, Roberts says he hopes to be sent to East Tennessee. He notes: "[T]his mission is looking up. Last winter Bro. Ford and myself were the only ones in this part of the state. Now there are six and we expect two more ... and all will find plenty to do." He told his mother that nearly "all the branch" in Coffee County would go to Colorado in the fall. See his letter to Ann Dustin Roberts, 29 August 1881, box 3, folder 6, Roberts Papers.

¹⁴² William R. Barrett was a thirty-eight-year-old sawyer living in Wilson County with his twenty-nine-year-old wife, C. V., and their seven children.

¹⁴³ Vaughan was G. P. Huddleston's daughter, who along with her husband, Richard D. Vaughan, was living with the Huddlestons.

mained in the neighborhood conversing with the Saints, teaching them their duties +c.

[September 9, 1881] Walked to the [post] office where I receive a letter from Elder H[yrum] Belnap[, president of the Tennessee Conference,] stating that he would be with us this afternoon. On returning I secured horse and started for the R[ail] R[oad] station where I met Elder Belnap. Stayed all night with Bro. Gwyn. My ride was 18 miles.

[September 10, 1881] Visited the Saints in company with Bro. B[elnap] and had an enjoyable time. At our meeting a goodly number came out. Bro. B[elnap] occupied the time. Stayed with Mr. Sanders.

[September 11, 1881] Held two meetings today. Bros. Ford and Belnap occupied the time.

[September 12, 1881] Received a letter today from Pres. Morgan, in which Bro. B[elnap] was released, and myself was appointed to preside over the Tenn[essee] Conference. Pres. M[organ] desired to see us at Nashville either tomorrow or the week following. We concluded to start for N[ashville] in the morning.

A meeting of the Saints had been ap[ointed] for the Saints at the house of Benj[amin] Bright.

We organized them into a Branch of the Church to be known as the Baird's Mills Branch of the C[hurch] of J[esus] C[hrist] of L[atter] D[ay] S[aints]. In company with Bro. Belnap and Ford I ordained W[illiam] Gwyn a priest in the Aaronic Priesthood and set him apart to preside over the above named Branch.

The time was occupied by Elders Ford and Belnap and myself admonishing the Saints to a faithful performance of their duties.

When it was announced that I was going away many regrets were made as the people have become attached to me. Stayed all night with Mr. Sanders.

[September 13, 1881] At four A.M. Bro. Gwyn hitched up a jersey and after bidding our friends goodbye, he took us 9 miles to a station called Leesville.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ Leesville is approximately five miles west of Lebanon in Wilson County.

We waited over an hour for the train which we the[n] took for N[ashville]. Arrived at 11 A.M. Found Pres. Morgan with whom we spent the day receiving instructions, relating missionary experiences +c.

[September 14, 1881] Wrote letters to Elders Ford and [Albert] Thurber.¹⁴⁵ We parted company this morning with Pres. M[organ]. He going to Louisville, K[entucky]. Bro. B[elnap] and myself starting for Shady Grove, Hickman Co[unty].¹⁴⁶ We purchased tickets for Columbia — 47 miles. Arrived at C[olumbia] 11 A.M. Leaving our large valieces here we started for Bro. R[obert] Churches¹⁴⁷ a distance of 16 m[iles].

We walked a few miles and then caught up with a mule team on which we rode within two miles of Bro. C[hurch's] farm. A heavy rain storm came up wetting us through: ~~man~~ <we> paid 50 cents for carrying us out.

[September 15, 1881] Remained all day at Bro. C[hurch's] reading, writing up journal +c. Bro. Robert Coleman a young man offered to go & get our valieces: expenses 50 cents.

[September 16, 1881] In company with Elder Belnap started for Cane Creek¹⁴⁸ a distance of 30 miles. Bro. R. Church furnished me a mule to ride, a Capt. Nichols loned Elder B[elnap] a horse. Made the trip before sundown. Put us with a very warm friend by the name of [Thomas] Garrett.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Twenty-seven-year-old Albert D. Thurber was born in Spanish Fork, Utah, in 1854 and married Eleanor Jane Shimms (1853-83) in 1876 in Santaquin, Utah. He was set apart for his mission on 9 April 1880 by Elder John Van Cott of the First Council of Seventy. Thurber married Agnes Craig Gardner (1865-1937) in 1896 in Colonia Juarez, Mexico, and died in Logan, Utah, in 1931.

¹⁴⁶ Roberts will spend the next eight weeks primarily in Hickman and the adjoining counties.

¹⁴⁷ Robert Robbins Church (1825-84) lived in Duck River, Hickman County, along with his wife, Laura (1838-?). They were married in 1864; both were longtime members of the church. They would become close friends with Roberts over the next three years.

¹⁴⁸ Cane Creek is a small town in Lewis County about thirty miles south of Shady Grove according to Roberts's estimation. See entry for 14 October 1881.

¹⁴⁹ Thomas Garret was a thirty-nine-year-old farmer living with his thirty-five-year-old wife, Elander, six children, and seventy-five-year-old mother-in-law, Eliza Jackson, about two miles north of Cane Creek. Although not a Latter-day Saint, Thomas

[September 17, 1881] Called on a Bro. Condor's¹⁵⁰ where we found Elders [John W.] Taylor¹⁵¹ and [William O.] Beesley.¹⁵² Elder B[eesley] had been unwell but had now recovered. We spent the day very pleasantly with the Saints & Elders. Stayed all night with a Bro. [James] DePriest.¹⁵³

[September 18, 1881] We held meeting this morning — a good turn out. I occupied the time. This afternoon we held another meeting

was sympathetic and would later help Roberts retrieve the bodies of the murdered missionaries in 1884. Because of this kindness to his Mormon neighbors, he was forced to move from the area a week after the massacre, relocating to Bond County, Illinois, with some financial help from the church. See *Defender of the Faith*, 145, 153, 410n41; *Autobiography*, 154-55; diary entry for 31 Mar. 1882.

¹⁵⁰ The Condor (sometimes Conder) family were members of the LDS church living in Lewis County. George Henderson Condor was born in 1838 in Centerville, the county seat for Hickman County—west of the town of Duck River—to Martin and Rachel Anderson Condor. He married Harriet Bratfield (1855-1953) in 1872 in Linden, Tennessee. By 1887, George had relocated to Aztec, New Mexico, in the Four Corners area. George died there in 1915. In a subsequent diary entry (16 Sept. 1881), Roberts foreshadows the tragic event that will occur in 1884 at the Condor residence when five people will be killed, including two sons, Martin Condor and J. R. Hudson (Harriet's son by a previous marriage); two missionaries, William S. Berry and John H. Gibbs; and the leader of the insurgents, Methodist minister David Hinson. Mother Condor is shot but survives. For an overview, see *Autobiography*, 136-55.

¹⁵¹ The twenty-three-year-old son of Apostle John Taylor, John Whittaker Taylor was born in Provo, Utah, in 1858 to John and Sophia Whittaker Taylor. He was set apart as a missionary by Apostle Orson Pratt on 29 November 1880. He married May Leona Rich (1865-1966) in 1882, Nellie Eva Todd (1869-1945) in 1888, Jannette Maria Woolley (1870-1956) in 1889, sisters Eliza Roxie (1880-1962) and Rhoda Welling (1880-1973) in 1901, and Ellen Georgina Sandberg (1886-1935) in 1909. He became a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in 1884 but was forced to resign in 1905 over his continued support of post-Manifesto polygamy. He was excommunicated in 1911. He died in Salt Lake City in 1916. See D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1997), 62, 182, 302, 705-06.

¹⁵² Twenty-seven-year-old William Beesley was born in Indiana in 1854. He was set apart for his mission on 11 July 1881 by Church Patriarch John Smith but served only a few months before falling ill in October 1882, at which time Roberts released him to return to Indiana and recuperate. His health improved and he was in Utah by March 1882. Roberts pasted a newspaper clipping from Beesley dated 14 January 1882 on the inside cover of this diary.

¹⁵³ James Huston DePriest was a convert to Mormonism. He was born in Hickman County in 1853 to William Andrew and Nancy Jane Harder DePriest and married Margaret Ellen Talley (1858-1937) in 1877. In 1881 the DePriests were living in Hickman County with their four children. The family relocated to the Mormon settlements in the San Luis Valley in southern Colorado where James and Margaret would add seven more children to the family. James died in Manassa, Colorado, in 1932.

at which we reorganized the Cane Creek Branch¹⁵⁴ setting apart Elder Ja[me]s DePriest to preside.

After this we called the Brethren together to find out their feelings in regard to building a meeting house.

Elder Taylor had sprung this question and we understood there was some dissatisfaction concerning the location. We therefore appointed three of the local Brethren to act as a building committee and they were to select the location +c. A good feeling among the Saints was manifest. Stayed all night with friend [Thomas] Garrett.

[September 19, 1881] The greater part of the day we spent at Mr. G[arrett]'s. Counseling with Elder Belnap we concluded to send Elders [Thomas] Merrill¹⁵⁵ and [William] Beesley to join Elders [Daniel] Bateman¹⁵⁶ and [Robert] Spence¹⁵⁷ who are laboring on the Tenn[essee] River.

In the afternoon we rode as far as a Mr. Carroll's¹⁵⁸ of Lewis Co[unty] w[h]ere we remained all night. Rode 7 mi[les].

[September 20, 1881] "Swamp Fever."¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ The Cane Creek branch will be dissolved following the massacre in 884.

¹⁵⁵ Twenty-two-year-old Thomas Hazen Merrill was born in Bountiful, Utah, in 1859 to future apostle Marriner W. Merrill and his wife Sarah Ann Atkinson. Thomas married Emma B. Olsen (1862-1930) three months before he was set apart for his mission to the southern states on 6 July 1881 by Apostle Franklin D. Richards. After his mission, Merrill became a farmer, dairyman, and stockman in Richmond, Utah, and served on the city council. In 1885 he married another wife, Margaret Winifred Thompson (1860-1951). He died in Richmond in 1935. Roberts consistently misspells his name, but this error has been silently corrected.

¹⁵⁶ Twenty-four-year-old Daniel Rapalyea Bateman was born in West Jordan, Utah, in 1857 and was set apart for his mission on 11 October 1880 by Apostle Charles C. Rich. He married Ellen Sophia Malmstrom (1862-1920) in 1884 and had a May Barlow (1861-?) in 1922 and died in Salt Lake City in 1942.

¹⁵⁷ Thirty-seven-year-old Robert Spence was born in England in 1844. He was living in Laketown, Utah, when he was set apart for his mission to the southern states on 11 October 1880 by Apostle Joseph F. Smith. He married Elise Emilie Aebischer (1859-1944) in 1883 in Salt Lake City and died in Salt Lake City in 1916.

¹⁵⁸ Probably John Carroll, the fifty-one-year-old sheriff of Lewis County who lived in the town of Palestine with his forty-year-old wife, Mary, and their five children. Roberts wrote in his autobiography that he "personally knew the sheriff of Lewis County, a Mr. Carroll, at whose home I had several times stayed over night, and the sheriff was very favorable to the Mormon elders and inclined to receive their message" (*Autobiography*, 143).

¹⁵⁹ Unfortunately, Roberts does not expand on this reference.

Leaving Mr. C[arrol]'s we traveled 16 miles through a timbered country scarcely settled to an old Bro. Treadways where we ate dinner. From there we went to Shady Grove 7 miles calling on our way to visit several family of Saints. Heard of Pres. [James A.] Garfield's death.¹⁶⁰

[September 21, 1881] Today we made known our plans to Elders [James] Eardl[e]¹⁶¹ and [Thomas] Merrill. In the afternoon Elder Merrill started to Cane creek and Elders Belnap & Eardley to fill an appointment some four miles in the country. I remained reading +c.

[September 22, 1881] About ten A.M. Bro. Belnap returned to spend the day studying +c. At night a goodly number~~d~~ attended our meeting. Bro. B[elnap] occupied the time.

[September 23, 1881] This morning Bro. Belnap started for home. He has been absent 28 months, and has done a good work. May God grant him a safe return home.

Elder Eardley came in from Toddy's [Totty's] Bend¹⁶² about 4 P.M.: we stayed at Bro. R[obert] Churches all night.

[September 24, 1881] We walked some 7 miles to a Bro. Treadway's as we expect to hold meeting in his neighborhood.

[September 25, 1881] We held meeting this morning. Bro. Eardley occupied the most of the time. In the afternoon we held meeting at or near a Mr. S[amuel] Hoover's¹⁶³ in a grove. I delivered a dis-

¹⁶⁰ President Garfield was shot in a Washington, D.C., railroad station on 2 July. By September, he seemed to be improving and was moved out of the city to recuperate. He died suddenly of infection and internal hemorrhaging on 19 September.

¹⁶¹ James Walter Eardley and Roberts will become lifelong friends, and Eardley figures prominently in the missionaries' activities in Tennessee over the next two years. Eardley was a twenty-six-year-old missionary, born in Salt Lake City in 1854, who had married Catherine Adella Woolley (1857-1939) in 1878. He was set apart for his mission by Apostle Orson Pratt on 11 October 1880. After his mission, he married Mary Bell Bryant (1868-1938) in 1888. He died in Baker, Oregon, in 1937. His name, which Roberts consistently misspells, will be silently corrected.

¹⁶² Totty's Bend in Hickman County got its name from the Totty family which lived in the area. It is situated on a bend of the Duck River.

¹⁶³ Samuel Hoover was a twenty-five-year-old farmer living in Hickman County with his nineteen-year-old wife, T. P., and young son.

course on the necessity of Continued Revelation. Stayed all night with a Mr. Love.¹⁶⁴

[September 26, 1881] Walked to the P[ost] O[ffice] but received no mail. Stayed all night with a Mr. Andersons with whom we conversed on religious topics.¹⁶⁵

[September 27, 1881] Walked to a Mr. S[amuel] Hoover's where we remained all day and night.

[September 28, 1881] Went to Father Treadway's. We expected to hold meeting in that neighborhood, but in consequence of bad weather none came out, but a few of the Saints. We had concluded to organize a branch of the Church in this place, and all the Saints were here, but Bro. T[readway] had visitors that he said he could not well leave and so it was postponed untill the eve[ning] of the 2nd. Sunday of Oct[ober].

[September 29, 1881] Walked 7 m[iles] to the [post] office this morning where we found a letter from Pres. Morgan. Contained \$8.00 <loaned> to me by Bro. Snow through Bro. Morgan. Bought hat: \$2.00.

[September 30, 1881] Received a letter from Bro. Snow, he reports all well in his part of the conference. At night Elder Merrill returned here accompanied by Elder Bateman. Bro. Bateman reported the following: On the third of this month we were at Spring Creek¹⁶⁶ staying <at> Walter Weems¹⁶⁷ — at midnight a mob of ten or twelve men surrounded the house endeavoring to get in to the Elders, threatening their lives and cursing bitterly the while. Finding their efforts availed nothing they left, warning the brethren not to

¹⁶⁴ Probably A. J. Love, a thirty-one-year-old farmer living in Hickman County with his twenty-one-year-old wife, Caladona, and their two children.

¹⁶⁵ At this point in his journal, Roberts pasted in a clipping dealing with a bill the Georgia state senate is said to have passed making it "unlawful for any person in ... any address to a public or private assemblage to counsel, advise or encourage in any way the violation of the laws of this State forbidding polygamy and bigamy." Roberts notes in the column next to the clipping: "We believe this act is only in its first reading in the Senate."

¹⁶⁶ Spring Creek is a small town in northeastern Hickman County.

¹⁶⁷ Probably G. W. Weems, a thirty-four-year-old merchant living in Hickman County with his twenty-four-year-old wife, Rebecca, and their four children.

preach any more at the church house, saying if you do[,] you will never preach again. But they held [a] meeting and baptized two the following day.

~~In the~~ The next week they went to Wayne Co[unty]¹⁶⁸ to fill some appointments, while here a house known as the Robinson school house was burned down, but no threats were made.

Returning to Spring Creek they were met by Elders Merrill and Beesley, whom we had sent to them. Threats were made[,] so the brethren[,] to escape pending trouble[,] ~~they~~ laid out all night in the woods.

Sunday the 25, a company of men some 12 or 15 in number took possession of the school-house. 5 of them were armed with double barrel shot guns, and others with pistols, and swore the Elders should not preach that day. The brethren to avoid bloodshed and bringing trouble on our friends and the Saints remained away. Rowe J. Strickland, Max Strickland, Frank Twilly, John Smith, Hart <Weems> friends once a friend but now a traitor, were the ones that had the guns. About ten others were there. He ([Elder Daniel] Bateman) had come to ask counsel as to how he should proceed. Bro. Spence and Beesley had moved to another part of the field. We held prayer circle especially for the protection of <Elders> S[pence] and B[eesley].

Concluded to wait the coming of Pres. M[organ] before taking any steps in the matter. He will be here Wednesday [October 5].

[October 1, 1881] Wrote letters to J[ohn] T. Henniger¹⁶⁹ who yesterday reported one baptism. Also to Bro. [Robert] Spence. Afternoon took Elders Eardley and Merrill over [Duck] river on boat.

[October 2, 1881] This morning attended Methodist meeting. A Mr. [William] Dye preached. In the afternoon we held meeting at the little school-house but few present. I occupied the time.

¹⁶⁸ Southwest of Hickman County.

¹⁶⁹ John Taylor Henniger was a thirty-two-year-old missionary who had recently arrived in the mission. He was born in Burkes Garden, Virginia, in 1849 and married Harriet Orinda Fanley (1855-1926) in 1873 and Mary Susannah Ivie (1856-1922) in 1874 in Mt. Pleasant, Utah. He was set apart for his mission by Apostle George Q. Cannon on 1 September 1881, married Marie Juliette Haselman (1869-1958) in 1925 in Cardston, Alberta, Canada, and died there in 1933.

At night we again went to Mr. Church. Bro. Merrill and I stayed with Pres. [of the] Branch[,] Emmons Church.¹⁷⁰

[October 3-4, 1881] We remained in the Duck River neighborhood spending the time in study +c.

[October 5, 1881] Bro. [John] Morgan came in today from Nashville. Was glad to see him.

[October 6, 1881] Pres. Morgan and myself visited the Saints and preached in Shady Grove at night.

[October 7, 1881] We visited with the Saints as on day previous.

[October 8, 1881] Leaving Bro. [Robert] Robins Church this morning Pres. M[organ] and myself this morning visited Mr. [Samuel] Hoover with whom we remained all night. On the 11th of last month Elder Snow took from the Baird's Mills P[ost] O[ffice] the following: "Roberts, Snow & Ford" "Most infamous Scoundrels: you are warned to leave this country in one week. If you remain it will be at the cost of your lives. This is no empty talk. It is solid truth. We have measured the ground. Scud!"¹⁷¹ Or We will hang you like dogs."

"Indignant Citizens"

[October 9, 1881] This morning we were joined by Elders Eardley, Bateman and Merrill. Meeting at 11 A.M. Bro. Bateman occupied a few minutes. We held a meeting at Love's Branch¹⁷² in the afternoon at which place we organized the Saints into a Branch of the Church. Bro. Treadway was ordained to the office of Priest in the Aaronic Priesthood by Pres. M[organ], Eardley and myself. Pres. M[organ] received a letter from Bro. W. Scott, Pres. of the conference in Georgia in which was described the conditions of the mission which was indeed critical. Mobs, threats, fines and imprisonment is the prospect for the Elders in that land, and not much better in this. O Lord protect thy Servants.

¹⁷⁰ See note 102.

¹⁷¹ A colloquial expression meaning to leave quickly without preparation.

¹⁷² Love's Branch is a small town in northwest Maury County.

[October 10, 1881] Pres. Morgan and myself left Father Treadways this morning and walked to see a sister Love some 3 miles distant. After dinner we were joined by the other Brethren[,] and in the afternoon later[,] Elders [Lorenzo] Hunsaker, [George M.] Bartholomew¹⁷³ and [Joseph W.] Thatcher. Bro. B[ateman] and myself went to a Bro. Geo[rge] Churches.¹⁷⁴

[October 11, 1881] Walked to the P[ost] O[ffice] and from there to Bro. R[obert] R. Churches where we spent day reading, conversing +c.

At night a goodly congregation assembled. Bro. Hunsaker and myself spoke.

[October 12, 1881] This morning all the Elders met in counsel — Pres. M[organ], J[ames] W. Eardley, L[orenzo] Hunsaker, G[eorge] M. Bartholomew, D[aniel] R. Bateman, J[oseph] W. Thatcher, T[homas] H. Merrill and B. H. Roberts. We each expressed our feelings, and suggested what-ever we thought proper.

Result= all felt well, willing to continue labors — to go anywhere.

It was decided Elders Bateman & Merrill should return to Perry Co[unty]¹⁷⁵ — Thatcher and Bartholomew to Hardin & Wayne and continue with their present companions. I was to work my way to them as circumstances would permit.

In the eve[ning] we gathered in at the house of Pres. of Branch[,] Emmonds Church, and spent the time singing[,] pleasant conversation +c.

[October 13, 1881] This morning Pres. Morgan returned to Nashville accompanied by L[orenzo] Hunsaker who had been released to return home. All the other Elders departed leaving me alone to do

¹⁷³ Twenty-nine-year-old George Marston Bartholomew was born in 1851 near Kanesville, Iowa. He was set apart for his mission by Apostle Joseph F. Smith on 11 October 1880. He married Salena Roper (1862-1948) in 1883 in Salt Lake City and died in 1925 in Fayette, Utah.

¹⁷⁴ George Brown Church was born in 1822 in Franklin, Tennessee, to Abraham and Mary Jones Emmons Church. He married Alice Baker (1825-1902) in 1843 in Franklin. He was a brother of both Robert and Isaac Emmons Church. He died in 1915 in Duck River.

¹⁷⁵ Perry County is west of Hickman County. Hardin is southwest of Wayne County on the border with Mississippi and Alabama.

my writing which consisted in letters[,] conference book +c. Felt lonely enough I tell you.

[October 14, 1881] This morning Bro. R[obert] R. Church furnished me with a mule, and I started for Cane Creek distance 30 miles. Was pretty well loaded having my own valiese, and a large one I had promised to carry to Elder [John W.] Taylor. Arrived at Mr. [Thomas] Garrett's just before sundown[. T]hey gave me a hearty welcome. I stayed here all night.

[October 15, 1881] This morning heard from Bro. [Elder Robert] Spence mobs were still after him but nothing deffinite was learned. In the afternoon I met 6 of the Elders. We had prayer circle after which I gave some counsel on various matters.

Had sent word that I would preach several times in this field of labor, but recalled appointments that I might start Monday for Bro. Spence, and learn the extent of difficulties in Perry & Wayne [counties], that Bro. Merrill should stay here [and] I would go with Elder Bateman to the scene of trouble.

[October 16, 1881] Last night I dreamt that I was cut in various parts of my body. One large cut in my brest from which I could see the blood oozing out and flowing over my body. I awoke and asked for a repetition of my dream & the interpretation — this followed. I was walking along the road, I heard noises in the brushes, presently I heard the rattle of a snake and saw coming from behind a large stone a snake with two heads. I threw at it several times but did not seem to hurt him. I took up two stones and prepared to throw at him when I awoke. I shall aft be obliged to wait to see what it means. Held two meetings today. I occupied a portion of the time both in the morning & evening.

A number of the brethren came in to Bro. [Mason] Tally's¹⁷⁶ where I was staying and spent the eve[ning].

[October 17, 1881] This morning the brethren came together, and it was arranged that Bro. Thatcher and R[ichard] C. Camp¹⁷⁷ should

¹⁷⁶ Mason J. Tally was a thirty-six-year-old farmer living in Hickman County with his thirty-eight-year-old wife, Joicy, and their five children.

¹⁷⁷ Thirty-four-year-old Richard Cecil Camp was born in 1846 in Council Bluffs, Iowa. He married Sarah Jane Glenn (1853-1929) in 1870. Ten years later, on 11 Octo-

travel together and Bro. Bartholomew should <take> Thatcher's place. Bidding the brethren good bye Elder Bateman and myself sta[r]ted for Linden¹⁷⁸ a distance of twenty miles. We arrived there just at dark and found Elder Eardley at Bro. Wess Hunt's.¹⁷⁹ We learned here that mobs were still raging on Spring Creek & Lick Creek¹⁸⁰ that they had given Bro. [George] Henderson Condor¹⁸¹ 10 days notice to leave the co[unty].

[October 18, 1881] Elder Bateman & myself decided to go to Spring Creek and learn the extent of the persecutions in that place if possible. Elder Eardley was going in that locality to get some books and clothing so he accompanied us.

We arrived at Spring Creek, and called at the house of Walter Weems a friend of ours. He informed us that the K. K. [K.] was still riding and that for three Sundays men had been guarding the school-house with shot guns and that they had concluded the "Mormons" should hold no more meetings there. Mr. Weems added "Nothing but buck shot can save you fellows now, men have taken hold of the matter now that will not allow you to stay."

Mr. Weems appeared to be much alarmed for our safety. We walked 12 miles.

Leaving W. Weems we made a short call on two or three families of Saints. About two o'clock Elder Eardley started for Linden and we called at the house of Henderson Condor. I began counting the possibilities of our being mobbed and concluded more from my impressions than from appearances that our chances were good for it. Bro. Condor's house was a single log room with two doors but no window. The chinking was out nearly all around so that men from without could shoot us all to pieces let us get in what part of the room we might. Bro. C[ondor] had no fire-arms of any description, so our chances for a shot gun argument could not be called good.

ber 1880, he was set apart for his mission by Apostle Orson Pratt. He married Jannie Grenn (1850-?) in 1886; he died in 1923 in Ely, Nevada.

¹⁷⁸ The Perry County seat.

¹⁷⁹ Probably S. W. Hunt, a thirty-year-old farmer living in Perry County with his wife, five children, and a farm hand named Benjamin Marsh. Notice from the 13 December 1881 entry that "Wess" is president of the Spring Creek branch of the LDS church.

¹⁸⁰ Lick Creek is a small town in northern Benton County.

¹⁸¹ See note 150.

While taking these things into consideration, two men came up, one the tax collector who ostensibly came to collect taxes; he was accompanied with another man armed with a double barrel shot gun.

We started out to the woods to have prayer, and while engaged in our devotions, we were interrupted by the shouting of Bro. Condor who told us Elder Eardley had been surrounded by a mob, but had got away from them, and had come back to warn us. We soon found Elder E[ardley] who repeated what Bro. C[ondor] had stated. Some 12 or 15 men had surrounded him armed with shot guns, and with bitter oaths swore they would take our lives.

He told them he had more coming to get his clothing and was then on his way to other parts.

He pleaded with them about 30 minutes to let him come back and give us warning to leave the creek and then if we refused to go they should use force — he finally got them to give a reluctant consent for him to return.

We concluded that it would not be wise to stay and fall into their hands, so Bro. E[ardley] took the Lick Creek road and started for Linden. Bro. B[ateman] and myself being on foot we made for the woods, where we remained all night. The next morning we arrived at Linden 9 A.M. very stiff & sore from our night's exposure. Hart Weems was at head of a mob.

[October 19, 1881] This morning we started in search of Bro. Spence & Beesley. Walked four miles and thought we came upon their tracks in the road toward Linden. We therefore returned to Bro. W[ess] Hunts but did not find them there. We remained all night at Bro. H[unts].

(The above took place on Thursday the 20th. Wed[nesday the 19th] we remained at Bro. H[unt's] all day resting and getting ready for the work before us.

[October 21, 1881] We left Linden this morning in search of Elders B[ateman] & S[pence]. We walked some 10 miles, and stoped at the house of a Phillip Miller. We found that the spirit of persecution was not so bitter as we expected to find it, although the K. K. [K.] had called at the house of Mr. Miller and they had exchanged shots but no one was hurt.

A family of German's was there, and Mr. Miller told them in their language that we were Mormons and they wanted to know

something of our faith and Mr. Miller tried to be interpreter but made little headway. I thought what a time we would have in trying to preach the Gospel to them. Walked 18 mi[les] ~~called~~ <stayed> all night with a Mr. Rippy.¹⁸²

[October 22, 1881] Leaving Mr. Rippy's we walked 8 miles to a Mr. [George] Grimes,¹⁸³ calling at the house of several friends on our way.

Late in the afternoon we heard that Elder Spence would hold meeting nearby[. W]e attended.

[October 23, 1881] Falling weather. We thought no one would go to the meeting-house as we stayed at Mr. Phillips: A Mr. Givern se<n>t for us to come to his house, and as quite a number gathered in we held meeting. I occupied the time.

At close of meeting we accompanied a Squ. Grimes home where we stayed all night. we heard <from> Bro. Beesley.

[October 24, 1881] This morning we left Mr. Grimes and started for the place where Bro. Beesley was staying. We found him just recovering from a chill, and he was looking badly: we all remained at the house of Mrs. [Martha] Grimes untill meeting time when Bro. Spence and myself went to fill the ap[pointmen]t.

Bro. Spence occupied the time.

[October 25, 1881] We had stayed all night with a Mr. Garald with whom we conversed ~~with him~~. His family is very interesting.

We walked to Clifton,¹⁸⁴ a town on the Tenn[essee River] where we took dinner. Coming back to widow Grime's we found Bro. Beesley much better. Elder Spence & myself went to fill our ap[pointmen]t in the neighborhood. I preached. Walked 16 miles.

¹⁸² James M. Rippy was a forty-nine-year-old farmer living in Perry, Tennessee, with his thirty-nine-year-old wife, Amanda, their seven children, and his seventy-year-old mother-in-law, Elizabeth Groomel.

¹⁸³ George Grimes was a thirty-year-old farmer living in Perry County, Tennessee, with his twenty-one-year-old wife, Martha, their son, and his fifteen-year-old brother, Ross.

¹⁸⁴ Clifton is located about ten miles south of Linden in Wayne County. As Roberts notes, it is on the east bank of the Buffalo River.

[October 26, 1881] We had stayed all night with Marsh Dudley's.¹⁸⁵ Leaving here this morning we walked 3 miles to a Mr. Nunley's where we remained all day and preached in the evening. We met there a hard-shell Baptist Preacher with whom we talked till 11 P.M. In speaking had good liberty of Spirit. Mr. Nunley very kind.

[October 27, 1881] Remained at Mr. Nunley's nearly all day reading +c. Stayed all night with a Mr. Warrington.¹⁸⁶ Rained nearly all night. We lost our ap[pointmen]t. Mr. Warrington treated us kindly.

[October 28, 1881] Leaving Mr. W[arrington]'s at 1 P.M. we walked 7 miles to a Mr. Woody's.¹⁸⁷ Still continued raining which hindered our holding meeting. Spent pleasant eve[ning] with Mr. W[ooddy].

[October 29, 1881] Leaving Mr. Woodies [Woody's] we started for Mr. Queen's¹⁸⁸ — distance six miles. Hear we took dinner and found Elders Bateman & Beesley. Bro. Beesley was still unwell.

Afternoon we walked 11 miles to a Mr. Davis, squire of the district.

We held meeting at night — but only a few were present. Bro. S[pence] occupied the time.

[October 30, 1881] We held meeting this [Sunday] morning. I preached on authority, and had good liberty. In the evening we walked 12 miles to fill an appointment. I again occupied the time: fair turn out and good attention. Stayed all night with a Mr. Holt.

[October 31, 1881] Took leave this morning of Elder Spence, and

¹⁸⁵ Probably Gilford M. Dudley, a thirty-two-year-old farmer living in Wayne County with his thirty-four-year-old wife, Mary, their five children, his eighty-year-old father-in-law, Elijah Warrington, and Molly Barry, a twenty-one-year-old servant and her one-year-old daughter, Daisy.

¹⁸⁶ Probably Marsh Dudley's eighty-one-year-old father-in-law, Elijah Warrington.

¹⁸⁷ Joshua A. Woody was a forty-seven-year-old farmer living in Wayne County with his forty-five-year-old wife, Angeline, and their seven children.

¹⁸⁸ James Campbell Queen was born in 1819 in Tennessee to John and Mary Campbell Queen. He married Priscilla Job (1818-58) in 1845, Lucinda Newburn (1829-90) in 1859, and Nancy Isabell Warrington (1814-?) in 1890. Queen died in 1897 in Beech Creek, Tennessee. Robert Spence, who was laboring in that area, recorded that Queen "had the sight of one eye restored while he was receiving the ordination of confirmation after baptism." See *Life and Ministry*, 337.

started for Hardin Co[unty]¹⁸⁹ where we expected to find Elders Camp and Thatcher. Was not acquainted with the route, but knowing it to be in the South, started in that direction. By making inquir[ies] found that Nixon[,] the P[ost] O[ffice] address of Bro. Camp[,] was about 2 miles from Hamburg.¹⁹⁰ The streams were swollen by the recent rains, so I was compelled to wade a number of times: was refused lodgings at 4 places, but was finally taken in by a Mr. Loyd.¹⁹¹ Missed supper.

[November 1, 1881] Mr. Loyd being crowded, [we] left before breakfast, knowing that some Saints were not far distant.

Arrived at the house of a Bro. Ray's.¹⁹² He had to stay from home in order to avoid difficulty with some one in regard to some [live]stock: his wife[, Mattie,] was at home and she treated me kindly providing breakfast for me +c. I remained all day resting & reading +c.

[November 2, 1881] About 11 o'clock this morning Elders Camp & Thatcher came in[,] was glad to see them. We killed a pig in the afternoon. Mrs. Ray went to stay with one of the neighborhood and left us to keep house. We did our own cooking and managed to get considerable fun out.

[November 3, 1881] This morning Bro. Thatcher and myself started to visit some friends and hold some meetings while Bro. Camp was to remain to assist Bro. Ray & family off for U[tah] T[erritory].

We crossed the Tenn[essee] River and then walked some five miles and stayed all night with a Mr. Thomas.

[November 4, 1881] This morning we made arrangements to speak at the Red Sulphur Springs¹⁹³ on Sunday afternoon [November 6].

¹⁸⁹ Roberts will be in the general area of Hardin County until late November.

¹⁹⁰ In the southernmost part of Hardin County, east of the Tennessee River and not far from the border with Alabama. Tennessee is primarily bordered by two states to the south, Mississippi and Alabama, along with a sliver of Georgia.

¹⁹¹ James H. Loyd was a fifty-six-year-old farmer living in Hardin County with his fifty-three-year-old wife, Mary, and their three children.

¹⁹² Daniel Ray was a twenty-eight-year-old mill hand living in Hardin County with his twenty-six-year-old wife, Mattie, and their three children. Notice from the 3 November entry that they are about to immigrate to Utah.

¹⁹³ On the west side of the Tennessee River on the border with Mississippi.

Leaving Mr. T[homas]'s we went up the country some five miles to try to get Ship's chapel to speak in on Sunday morning but we failed to see the trustee's. Returned to T[homas]'s neighborhood and stayed all night with a Mrs. Trotter, a widow.¹⁹⁴

Walked 11 mi[les].

[November 5, 1881] I got Mrs. Trotter's son [John] to mend my boots for which I paid him 50c. Bro. Thatcher lent me 5c and also paid my fair over the river 10c while my boots were being mended. I spent the time in reading +c. In the afternoon we went to Mr. Thomas's who received us rather coldly, but treated us kindly.

[November 6, 1881] This morning we went to a place called Shanghi¹⁹⁵ to hear preaching, but 10 persons <were> present and the meeting was dry.

In the afternoon we held meeting at a school-house near Red Sulphur Springs[. S]ome thirteen were present. I preached and enjoyed good liberty.

Stayed all night with Mrs. Trotter[.] spent an agreeable evening[.].

[November 7, 1881] We started this morning for Shilo:¹⁹⁶ calling on our way at the R[a]yburn¹⁹⁷ P[ost] O[ffice] where I rec[ei]ved a letter from Elders [James] Allred & Bartholomew telling us of their ap[pointmen]t's. I wrote them a card saying would be with them on [the] third Sunday [November 20] at a Mr. Hays, in Whitten [S]tand¹⁹⁸ Wayne, Co[unty].

We followed down the river (Tenn[essee]) making 25 miles and stayed with a Mr. D. Howell, nephew of Elder [David P.] Rain[c]y¹⁹⁹ of Richmond, Cache Co[unty]. Treated us well.

¹⁹⁴ Sarah J. Trotter was a fifty-two-year-old widow and housekeeper in Hardin County, where she lived with her two children and granddaughter.

¹⁹⁵ A small town in Hardin County

¹⁹⁶ Located in Hardin County on the west side of the river, Shiloh was the site of a major Civil War battle.

¹⁹⁷ Rayburn is a small town in western Wayne County.

¹⁹⁸ A small town in the southeastern part of the county.

¹⁹⁹ David Pinkney Rainey was a church member (apparently not a missionary) who was born in 1817 in Maury County, Tennessee. He married Dorothy Jane Dennis (1840-1920) in 1857 in Salt Lake City and died in 1888 in Richmond, Utah. It is not clear how Roberts knows him. D. Howell has not been identified.

[November 8, 1881] United S[tates] cemetery — established 1866. Interments 3590[:] known 1229[,] unknown 2361. 20,000 killed in F[ighting].

We remained at Mr. D. Howell's until now when we went to the main road to see if we could learn anything concerning Bro. [Elder Richard] Camp: heard nothing of him. We then visited the Shiloh cemetery[,] it is beautifully located on the West bank of the Tenn[essee] river, includes some ten acres, with interments given as at head of day. We returned at dark to Mr. Howells.

[November 9, 1881] Remained all day at Mr. Howells reading, studying +c. As we gathered around the fire at night, I spoke upon the organization of the church. Mr. Howells appeared interested.

[November 10, 1881] This morning we continued to wait no longer for the arrival of Elder Camp but would try to get out an appointment for Sunday. For the purpose of getting the M[ethodist] E[piscopal] Church to hold services in we called on Mr. Barlow — trustee — as far as he was concerned was willing but must get consent of the Pastor — [J. R.] Kirkpatrick.²⁰⁰ [W]e called on him, but he refused to let us have it, and for no other reason than we were "Mormons."

We returned to Mr. Howell's where we took dinner. We walked to a Mr. East's²⁰¹ intending to hold meeting in that locality. Mr. E[ast] has a brother in Utah. He treated us kindly.

[November 11, 1881] I started out this morning to try to get a house to preach in, walked some 14 miles, but failed to see an[y] trustees, but at last gave out an ap[pointmen]t at the school-house near Stantonville²⁰² for Saturday night. Returned to Mr. East's where took dinner. From there went to Mr. Brooks where we found Elder Thatcher. We stayed all night with Mr. Brooks, who treated us kindly.

²⁰⁰ J. R. Kirkpatrick was a twenty-six-year-old minister boarding in Hardin County with J. S. and M. J. Lutts and their five children.

²⁰¹ Bazley G. East was a sixty-eight-year-old farmer living in McNairy County with his forty-five-year-old wife, Elizabeth, and their eight children. McNairy is just west of Hardin County.

²⁰² Stantonville is located in McNairy County about eight miles northwest of Shiloh.

[November 12, 1881]

McNairy, Co[unty]²⁰³

This morning we went over to Mr. Howell's to see if Bro. Camp had come, but he had not been there. We returned to Mr. Brooks where we took dinner. We secured today the Wood S[chool] H[ouse] to preach in on Sunday 3 P.M.

Leaving Mr. Brooks we started to fill our ap[pointmen]t in Stantonville — crossing a brook on a fallen tree it broak and let us boath into the water. We had a very fair audience, and good attention, went home with a Mr. Irvin who treated us very kindly.

[November 13, 1881] This morning myself and Elder Thatcher attended a baptism and meeting of the Cambellite order. O what a difference between the systems of men and that of God. At three o'clock we held meeting, where we met Elder Camp.

Give out an ap[pointmen]t at the house of Mr. Howell. I spoke 1 ½ hours. Elder Camp ½ hour. Stayed at a Mr. Dancers.

[November 14, 1881] We visited several places today of interest among them the tree under which Gen. A. S. Johnston was killed.²⁰⁴ Stayed with Bro. Camp at Mr. Howells.

[November 15, 1881] Stayed untill after dinner at Mr. H[owell]'s reading, singing +c. We then started for Stantonville where we held a very interesting meeting, the school house being crowded. Stayed all night with a Mr. [Andrew] Veal.²⁰⁵

[November 16, 1881] Stayed untill afternoon at Mr. Veal, and then walked to Mr. Rooks where we remained untill meeting time[,] the s[chool] h[ouse] was crowded not being room enough for those who came to hear. I occupied the time.

[November 17, 1881] This morning we took leave of our friend and started for Whitten stand to visit Bro. Allred & Bartholomew.

²⁰³ West of Hardin County.

²⁰⁴ Albert Sidney Johnston (1803-62), the noted Confederate general, also led the 1857 campaign against Mormons in the Utah War.

²⁰⁵ Andrew J. Veal was a thirty-seven-year-old farmer living in McNairy County with his thirty-three-year-old wife, Sarah, their three children, and fourteen-year-old cousin, Mary Smith.

We walked 15 miles and stayed all night with a Mr. Harlan²⁰⁶ who treated us very kindly.

[November 18, 1881] Leaving Mr. H[arlan]'s this morning we continued our journey calling on several friends by the way. Stopped for dinner with a Jos[eph] Fielding. His folks were not at home so we walked to cook our own food.

Elder C[amp] left on ap[pointmen]t at Pine Grove.²⁰⁷ We lost our way in the woods, which caused us to walk some 30 miles. Arrived at Mr. Hays after dark.

Met Elder Allred, he was well. Rec[eived] 11 letters, 2 from home — all well. The others from various parts of mission. All well.

[November 19, 1881] I remained at Mr. Hays nearly all day writing, reading +c.

In the eve[ning] Bro. Camp <and myself> engaged in a kind of discussion, and here I learned that it was contrary to the Spirit of God — that it led to a bad feeling for Elders to engage in such discussions.²⁰⁸

[November 20, 1881] This morning we had an appointment at a school-house, but only four came out. Bro. Camp occupied the time.

Leaving Elders Allred & Thatcher ~~we to go~~ we started for Ala[bama], and they were to go to Indian Creek²⁰⁹ to give out an ap[pointmen]t for Thursday night. We stayed at a Mr. Sego's²¹⁰ where we spent a very pleasant eve[ning].

[November 21, 1881] Lauderdale Co[unty], Ala[bama].²¹¹

Bro. Geo. Bartholomew & myself went to a Bro. Baily's where

²⁰⁶ J. Harlan was a forty-year-old farmer living in Wayne County, Tennessee, with his forty-year-old wife, M. J., their seven children, and seventy-one-year-old aunt, H. Brewer.

²⁰⁷ Pine Grove is a small town in south central Wayne County.

²⁰⁸ He seems to mean "frank" discussions, but whether theological or interpersonal, he does not say.

²⁰⁹ A small town in McNairy County close to the Tennessee-Alabama border.

²¹⁰ William Sego was a fifty-two-year-old farmer living in Lauderdale County, Alabama, with his forty-year-old wife, Dianna, and their eight children.

²¹¹ In the northwestern part of Alabama along the Tennessee border.

we gave out an ap[pointmen]t for night. Weather was bad only a few came in but I preached to them. I do not think the people have a surplus of the Spirit of God.

[November 22, 1881]

Ala[bama].

This morning Bro. Geo [Bartholomew] came over from Mr. Segoe's. In the eve[ning] we started for a Mr. Geo[rge] Hanlan's where we expected to hold meeting. Stopped and took supper at a Mr. <P. Buttler>²¹² and then went over to Mr. H[anlan]'s where we found quite a number gathered in and I preached and Bro. Camp bore testimony.

[November 23, 1881]

Ala[bama].

We had an ap[pointmen]t at the house of Mr. Hanlan at 11 o'clock. Both Bro. C[amp] and myself spoke. Also held at night, good attention was paid at both meetings and the house was offered to us for other use.

Bro. C[amp] went to Bro. Bailey's to fill the ap[pointmen]t there. I preached at night. Stayed with Mr. [J. J.] Meeks.²¹³

[November 24, 1881] Walked 20 miles.

Leaving Mr. Buttlers (who had treated us kindly) we called at Bro. Bailey's to get Elder Camp. Bro. B[ailey] is expecting to get some \$1100 pension money, and wanted counsel about gathering [to Utah]. I told him to go ahead as if he expected to raise another crop — but if his money came to gather to Zion.

Met Elder Thatcher at the S[chool] H[ouse] but the weather is so cold people did not come out, so we lost our ap[pointmen]t. We all returned to Mr Straight's who rec[eived] us well.

We all manifest so [much] lightness — except Elder B[artholomew], but God knows our hearts[,] that we desire to build up his Kingdom. I pray He will forgive me.

[November 25, 1881] This morning took leave of Elder Camp & Thatcher, but before doing so we retired to a secret spot & there of-

²¹² Patrick Butler was a sixty-three-year-old farmer living in Lauderdale County, Alabama, with his fifty-year-old wife, Agnes, and their five children.

²¹³ J. J. Meeks was a thirty-two-year-old farmer living in Lauderdale County, Alabama, with his thirty-three-year-old wife, Margaret, and their four children.

ferred our thanks to God for his blessings to us & asked for strength in the future.

Walked 7 miles to a Sister Morrow's where we remained untill next day.

[November 26, 1881] Walked 2 m[iles]. Stayed the eve[ning] with A[le]x. L. Downing²¹⁴ — at night stoped with his mother [Lyddy].²¹⁵

[November 27, 1881] Held one meeting, not many present — good attention. Stayed <at Sis.> D[owning's].

[November 28, 1881] Walked 2 mi[les] down to a Mr. Wright's. Remained all night with him.

[November 29, 1881] Visited with the Saints, teaching them the Gospel. Cheered them up.

[November 30, 1881] Leaving the Saints on Indian C[reek] we started for Forty Eight [Creek].²¹⁶ As we passed through Waynesboro²¹⁷ I secured the Court-house of the sheriff to deliver a lecture in on the eve[ning] of Dec[ember] 19. Wrote out two notices and posted them on [the] C[ourt] H[ouse] & P[ost] O[ffice]. Arrived at 48 [Creek] accompanied by Elders Allred & Bartholomew. Stayed all night with a Mr. Lee — very kind.

[December 1, 1881] Visited several families in this locality. Preached in the eve[ning], good attention. Stayed all night with Mr. Scott.

[December 2, 1881] Elders A[llred] & B[artholomew] went with me part of the way to Rock-[H]ouse.²¹⁸ We had prayers & parted with mutual "God bless you." My course was through a very timbered district, had to wade several branches & the water was very cold. Ar-

²¹⁴ Downing was a thirty-one-year-old farmer living in Wayne County with his wife, Joan, and their five small children.

²¹⁵ Lyddy Downing was a fifty-year-old woman keeping house in Wayne County, where she lived with her twenty-year-old daughter, Lauretta, and her forty-eight-year-old sister, Gemima Marrow.

²¹⁶ A small creek in Wayne County which drains into the Buffalo River.

²¹⁷ The county seat of Wayne County. The city and county were both named for Revolutionary War General "Mad Anthony" Wayne.

²¹⁸ A small town in northern Wayne County.

rived at R[ock] H[ouse] but the Elders (Taylor & Merrill) had not left any ap[pointmen]t: Rec[eived] Kindly.

[December 3, 1881] Learned today that an ap[pointmen]t had been made — concluded to remain. Elders T[aylor] & M[errill] arrived at night — both well & in good spirits — spent a pleasant eve[ning]. Rec[eived] letters from wife — mother — Elder Ford.

[December 4, 1881] Held 2 m[eeetings] only a few came to them. I preached both times.

[December 5, 1881] Called for Elders M[errill] & T[aylor] who had stoped with a Mr. Canel. We then started for Napier's Furnice,²¹⁹ distance 9 m[iles]. Called after visiting Furnice at a Bro. Barber's. An ap[pointmen]t was given out. A good many came out & I occupied the time. At the close a Mr. [W.] C. Whit[t]horne²²⁰ came up and introduced himself as one of the representatives from this state to congress. He took us to the boarding house where he paid our bills for the night.

[December 6, 1881] We started for Cane Creek 17 mi[les]. Lost our way went 26 mi[les]. Arrived at Mr. [Thomas] Garrett's by night.

[December 7, 1881] Today went to Shady Grove — 30 miles.²²¹ Found Saints & Elders all well. Spent Thursday [December 8] in visiting Saints. Also Friday [December 9] same way. [H]eld meeting F[riday] night.

[December 10, 1881] Rode to Th[oma]s Garrett's 30 mi[les] where stayed all night.

[December 11, 1881] Held meeting in A.M. at Bro. Condor's. Had several of the Brethren speak.

²¹⁹ A small town in southern Lewis County.

²²⁰ William Curran Whitthorne (1825-91) was a lawyer and politician in middle Tennessee prior to the Civil War. An officer in the Confederate Army, he lost his political rights until they were restored in 1870. The next year, he was elected to Congress, where he served until 1883. He later filled a vacancy in the U. S. Senate in 1886-1887, after which he was elected to Congress and served until March 1891.

²²¹ Roberts will spend most of the rest of the year in Hickman and Wilson Counties.

In the eve[ning] Bro. Merrill baptized a Mr. [James] Westbrooks²²² of Peery Co[unty]. I blessed the child of Th[omas] DePriest.²²³ Visited [on] Monday [December] 12.

[December 13, 1881] Rode to Linden, Peery Co[unty] in company with Mr. Westbrooks. Met Th[oma]s Condor member of C[hurch] and Wess Hunt, pres[ident] of Spring C[reek] branch — stayed all night. Endeavored to teach these brethren the principles of the Gos[pe]l.

[December 14, 1881] This morning secured copy of a letter written by an enemy. Rode back to Mr. [Thomas] Garrett's who had furnished me [a] mule — distance 40 mi[les].

Thursday [December 15] & Friday [December 16] part [of the] day was [spent] visiting & held m[ee]ting: Th[urs]day night [and] part of Friday. Walked 14 mi[les] to a Mr. Turner's where expected to hold m[ee]ting] but none came out.

[December, 17 1881] Walked 14 mi[les] to 48 [Creek] — stayed all night with a Mr. Carrroll.

[December 18, 1881] Held one meeting [and] stayed all day with a Mr. Scott.

[December 19, 1881] Walked 8 mi[les]. Held 1 meeting. Going to Waynesboro we met with Elders Bateman and Spence, both ~~where~~ were well.

Only a few came out to our lecture — much prejudice exists, did not have good liberty. Stayed all night at the hotel cost \$1.25.

[December 20, 1881] Walked 8 mi[les]. In company with these brethren went to Indian [Springs] where we enjoyed their company extremely well.

²²² James L. Westbrooks was a thirty-four-year-old farmer living in Perry County with his wife, Virginia, and their five children.

²²³ Roberts refers to William Orson DePriest (1881-1956), the oldest child of Thomas Walker DePriest (1858-1932) and Margaret Ellen Talley DePriest (1864-1937). He was baptized just two months after his birth and accompanied his parents when they immigrated to Colorado along with Thomas's brother James. Thomas and Ellen would have nine additional children, all born in Colorado, and live there the rest of their lives. Ironically, both James's and Thomas's wives were named Margaret Ellen Tally—aunt and niece.

I. 1880-1881

[December 21, 1881] Walked 15 mi[les]. Bro. Merrill and myself bid adieu to the other 4 Elders, and also to the Saints — starting on our return to Cane Creek, stayed with Scott.

[December 22, 1881] Walked 29 mi[les]. Leaving our friends on 48 Creek we made our way to Rock House where we took dinner with a Mr. Turner. On coming to Buffalow [River] the people living on the bank of the river refused to set us over the river saying they would not trust their horses in the stream — it had been swollen by recent rains. Striping off our cloathing we waded it though it was very cold[,] strong current and deep. We arrived at Tho[mas] Garrets at dark where we met Elder Taylor. We were kindly treated.

[December 23, 1881] Walked 30 mi[les]. Leaving Mr. G[arrett]’s at 9 — we started for “Shady” arrived at 5-30 — sore feet, tired limbs, but good appetite.

Rested Saturday [December 24].

[December 25, 1881] Walked 5 miles. Preached & held meeting at Shady at which I preached on the Life of Christ. In the afternoon at Love’s Branch on Second Coming of Christ.

[December 26, 1881] Walked 5 mi[les]. Ate Turkey dinner at Uncle [Robert] Robbins Churches.

[December 27, 1881] We visited the Saints taking dinner at John Anderson’s.²²⁴

[December 28, 1881] Walked 7 miles, held 2 meetings. Held meeting at Love’s branch, none but the Saints were here and a few friends. At night we held testimony meeting.

[December 29, 1881] Walked 7 mi[les]. Studied remainder of day at Bro. R[obert]. R. Churches where we stayed all night.

Friday ~~night~~ [December 30] and Saturday [December 31] we studies all the time, seeing the year of 1881 pass away at the house of R. R. Church.

²²⁴ John Anderson was a forty-two-year-old farm hand living in Hickman County, Tennessee, with his thirty-six-year-old wife, Melvina, and their seven children.

REFLECTIONS

I have spent all of the year 1881 in the state of Tenn[essee] with the exception of five or six days which were passed in the state of Ala[bama].

During that time I have rode horseback and in wagon 299 miles; on R[ail] R[oad] 404 miles; have walked 1846 miles making a total of 2,549 miles that I have traveled in this year to preach the everlasting Gospel.

I have held or attended rather, 152 meetings at which I have occupied the whole or part of the time, with a very few exceptions.

Have preached in the following [Tennessee] counties — Coffee, Wilson, Rutherford, Hickman, Lewis, Wayne, Peery, Hardin, McNairy, Lawrence and Lauderdale Co[unty] Alabama. From Jan[uary] 5th to May 5th I traveled in company with Jos[eph] Ford who lives in the same villiage I did when at home. Our association was of the most agreeable character not even being mar[re]d by one cross word or thought so far as I know. When I was a little down hearted or a little unwell he was ever kind and sympathizing, and did all he could to make matters comfortable, and I tried to reciprocate his good feelings and comfort him in his sorrows which were not few because of the severe illness of and death of his mother which occurred while I was with him.

My next companion was Elder A. H. Snow of Brigham City: I had formed his acquaintance while attending the Deseret University in Salt Lake City, in the winter of 1878-79. We enlarged our field considerably while together, and I enjoyed his society very much. He has a good disposition, is refined in his manner and chaste in his conversation; is intelligent, witty, and withall has a liberal education. He was kind to me lending me money on several occasions.

We advanced considerably in knowledged of important principles, and by his suggestions I think I made some advancement in the art of public speaking: on the 12[th] of <Sep[tember]> I separated from him, being appointed to succeed Hyrum Belnap in the presidency of the Tennessee Conference — Elder B[elnap] having been honorably released to return home. My association since that time has, of course, been more extended. In that time I have associated with Elders Ja[me]s Eardley, T[homas] H. Merrill. R[ichard] C. Camp, R[obert] S. Spence, L[orenzo] Hunsaker, Jos[eph] Thatcher,

G. M. Bartholomew, Ja[me]s Allred, D[aniel] R. Bateman, Cha[rle]s C. Brown,²²⁵ J[ohn W.] <Taylor> as well as the brethren in East Tenn[essee] [A. H.] Snow, [Joseph] Ford, [James] Hammond: Some of the brethren that had labored in the state I have not seen Bro. [Andrew] McCombs,²²⁶ Ja[me]s Adams,²²⁷ [George] Comer²²⁸ and [Albert] Thurber.

I have also enjoyed at different times the company of Pres. John Morgan. In all my association with the Elders a good feeling has been manifested toward me, and I am sure I have always felt kindly toward them, and pray that God will abundantly bless them in their labors. I have assisted in the organization of three branches of the Church, and the reorganization of one more. Have baptized seven persons, and have assisted in the baptism of five others. At times have manifested a good deal of lightness of mind which no doubt grieved at times the good Spirit of God; at other times have given way to a naturally restless disposition which impatience has also grieved the Spirit of God. He has no doubt thought often that I was a poor stick instrument to declare the glorious Gospel tidings. But he knows my heart — to him it is an open book, and he will judge of the merits and demerits of this year's labor and I must abide His discission.

B. H. Roberts

²²⁵ Twenty-nine-year-old Charles Canfield Brown was born in 1852 in Ossian, New York. He married Clara Armedia Leavitt (1856-1936) in 1874 in Salt Lake City and was living in Ogden, Utah, when he was set apart for his mission on 10 October 1881 by Horace S. Eldredge of the First Council of Seventy. Brown died in 1913 in Ogden.

²²⁶ Fifty-one-year-old Andrew McCombs was born in 1830 in Wheatland, New York. He was baptized in 1848. In 1855, he married Lucy Brown (1832-69), then married her sister, Amelia Brown (1840-1909), two years later. He was living in Trenton, Utah, when he was set apart for his mission on 17 September 1881 by Apostle Wilford Woodruff. McCombs died in 1902 in Grover, Wyoming. The consistent misspelling of his name on Roberts's part will be corrected in future references.

²²⁷ Thirty-three-year-old James Jamison Adams was born in 1848 in Springfield, Illinois. He was set apart on 10 October 1881 by John Van Cott of the First Council of Seventy. Adams married Caroline Elizabeth Redd (1866-1905) in 1888 in St. George, Utah. He died in 1922 in Parowan, Utah.

²²⁸ Fifty-one-year-old George Comer was born in 1830 in England. He was baptized in 1854 and came to Utah, where he became a farmer and stockman in Lehi, Utah. He married Mary Ann Smith (1833-1907) in 1852 and was set apart for his mission on 10 October 1881 by William W. Taylor of the First Council of Seventy. In 1913, he married Susannah Harwood (1834-?). He died in 1917 in Lehi.

II.
Tennessee and Home Again

1882

[January 1, 1882] The new year finds me at the house of Bro. R[obert] R. Church in a small villiage called Shady-Grove.¹

I am in the full-faith of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as taught by Him, and his Apostles; and as revealed to Jos[eph] Smith in this the dispensation of the fullness of times: whereof, also, I am a minester but not in bonds. I am in the enjoyment of fair health, and letters recently from home inform me that my family are in the enjoyment of the same great blessing, for which O God, I thank Thee! And now my Father in Heaven, during the year that commences with this day, extend thine arm of protection around those I love, and whom I have left for the Gospel's sake. Preserve them in the faith of Thy Glorious Gospel; and pour out upon them a rich abundance of the Holy Spirit to cheer their hearts and comfort them in my absence. Bless them with health,

¹ Roberts's heading at the top of the page for this year reads: "The Year of Our Lord 1882." It will be remembered that Shady Grove, Hickman County, was the base of operations for missionary activity in Middle Tennessee. Apostle David W. Patten had been a missionary there in 1834-35, accompanied by future apostle Wilford Woodruff and future stake president Abraham O. Smoot. See report by Andrew Jenson in *Conference Report: The Ninety-fifth Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, April 1925, 107; Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 36.

and if any should fall a prey to sickness, grant O Lord that the prayer of faith shall save them and the fell destroyer, Death, be banished by the same power.

Bless my wife [Louisa] with wisdom in training our child. May Adah² live and grow up to woman-hood, and fill up the measure of her creation in righteousness. And give me power father to put away from me all my folly and unrighteousness; help me to be worthy of these precious gems which Thou has't blessed me with, that I may not only be worthy of them here, but also in eternity, and help me to conduct myself in such a manner, that they would choose me as their head.

Bless my mother [Ann Everington], preserve her in health, that she may live untill I see her once more in the flesh. Bless my sisters, and their families; and may their children grow up in righteousness. And prosper thy work in all the world, and may thy Kingdom come, and thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven, Amen.

Elders Ja[me]s W. Eardley and Cha[rles C.] Brown are my companions in the ministry, also Elder Tho[mas] H. Merrill[1]. [T]he day was bitter cold but bro[ther] Eardley and myself rode twenty miles to fill an appointment at Totty's Bend.³ Only a few were present, and as the house was very uncomfortable, we only held meeting half an hour.

We returned to Shady Grove that eve[ning], where I found a letter from Elder [Alphonzo] Snow which stated that Elder [Joseph] Ford had not been heard from for about four weeks. This occasioned some anxiety to me as I knew him to be in a <bad> district. I directed Elder [James] Hammond to go directly in search of the lost one.

[January 1-7, 1882] [R]emained in Shady Grove visiting the Saints from house to house, answering letters, <etc>. Received a card from Bro. Snow stating that Bro. Ford had come in O.K. Suffered much with headache.

² Adah Roberts, born 12 February 1879, is described by Roberts's biographer, Truman Madsen, as "bright and certainly the most literary of Louisa's children ... [who] found it difficult all through her growing up years to interpret Roberts' long missionary expeditions as anything more than desertion." See Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 105.

³ A small town in Hickman County a few miles west of Duck River.

[January 8, 1882] Preached at Shady Grove at 2-30 P.M. The house was crowded — had good liberty. Fine day, just like Spring. A number of the Saints gathered in at Bro. E[mmons] Church⁴ where we spent the evening in singing hymns, and in pleasant conversation.

[Pages 4-5 are missing in the original at this point.]

[January 15, 1882] A disagreeable rain this morning, but the Wetmore's school-house was crowded to over-flowing.⁵ I occupied the time. I had good liberty of the Spirit, and the people were very attentive. After service we held a council of the Elders present at the house of sq. Sanders. There were present, Elders Hammond, Ford, Snow, [Andrew] McCombs and [George] Comer. Each of the Brethren reported his labors, and expressed his willingness to labor where ever he should be assigned. A very good spirit was manifest. We then made the following appointments. Elders Hammond and Comer were to go to Cannon County; Ford and [Charles] Andrews,⁶ in Franklin and Coffee counties; Snow and McCombs, in Wilson County.

Stayed all night with Bro. [Ben] Bright. Still unwell.

[January 15 - 20, 1882] Spent the time in visiting with the Saints, teaching them the principles of Life Eternal, exhorting them to be faithful.

On the 20th Elder[s] Hammond and Comer started for their field of labor.

[January 21, 1882] A stormy day, creeks high. Accompanied Elder Ford and Andrews to Rutherford County, distance 20 miles. These Brethren had an appointment at the house of a Mr. [John] Hawkins, a "Josephite," the same man Bro. Ford and I found about a year ago. There were many streames which crossed the roads, and as I was wearing a rather poor pair of shoes[,] Bro. Joseph [Ford] carried me on his back over them he having on a good pair of boots

⁴ Issac Emmons Church was president of the Duck River Branch.

⁵ Roberts is in Wilson County for Tennessee Conference meetings.

⁶ Thirty-eight-year-old Charles Andrews was born in 1843 in England. He married Sarah Ann Jacques (1845-1922) in 1863 in Nephi, Utah, and was set apart for his mission by Apostle Wilford Woodruff on 17 September 1881. He died in 1923 in Santa Monica, California.

which did not leak. Arrived at Mr. H[awkin]s about ½ after three; they gave us a hearty welcome and Sister H[awkins] soon had a good supper provided.

[January 22, 1882] A clear cold day. Only a few came in, but we preached to them, I occupied the time. At night more were out. Bro. Ford spoke first, and I followed – good interest was manifest. Left an appointment for two weeks.

[January 23, 1882] Elders Ford and Andrews left early this morning for Coffee County. I returned to Baird's Mills – distance 20 miles.

[January 25, 1882] I filled an appointment alone at the Herrin school-house. A bad night, but quite a good number were turned out, and I had good liberty. Stayed all night with a widow Gwyn: walked 5 miles.

[January 26, 1882] This morning Bro. W[illia]m Gwyn made a present of a pair of boots for which he paid \$3.50. These came in the hour of need. Walked 5 miles.

[January 29, 1882] Held meeting today in the Wetmore school-house; as it was very cold and disagreeable, but few were present; Elders Snow and McCombs occupied the time. Made an appointment at the house of Bro. Wm. Gwyn's for night. In his house, he has a very large fire-place, on this he put nearly a half a cord of dry cedar slabs secured from the saw mill hard by. Around this fire the people sit in <a> semicircle, three or four deep. I spoke on the History of the Church. The Saints were interested, and strengthened in their faith.

[January 30-31 1882] Spent the time in visiting with the Saints among whom there appears to be a good feeling. The severe pain in my head that troubled me several weeks, is now gone.

Summary of the Month of January

Distance Traveled.

On foot –	59 miles
On Rail Road –	68 "
" horse-back –	37 "
Total –	164 "

Number of meetings held — 10

<From O. D.>⁷ meetings from Dec. 20 to Jan. 1-4

During the month read several of Shakspeare's plays through. Also some of [William] Cowper's and Thompson's works; from which I made some valuable extracts.⁸

The weather has been very warm, but the rain fall has <been> prodigious, the Cumberland river was higher than it has ever been known to be before. It inundated a good portion of Nashville but very little frosts.

[February 1, 1882] Attend[ed] a testimony meeting held by the Saints at the house of Bro. W[illia]m Gwyn.

Many of the brethren were able to testify of the truth of the Gospel, and they knew that they had received the Holy Ghost.

After they were all through I bore my testimony, and then spoke nearly an hour on the duties of the Saints. A good feeling prevailed.

[February 4, 1882] Bro. Snow and myself started for Rutherford County to fill our appointment at the house of Bro. Hawkins. We had a fine day, and enjoyed ourselves in an agreeable conversation during the whole of the long walk: the distance was twenty miles. Arrived there at three o'clock and soon after partook of a hearty dinner.

Spent the evening in bringing up the internal evidence of the Book of Mormon.

[February 5, 1882] Some fifteen or twenty gathered in this morning to our meeting and Bro. Snow addressed them on the subject of Revelation. We made an appointment for meeting at night. At the close of service a Mr. Ja[me]s McCullough⁹ introduced himself; he

⁷ Roberts refers to his "other" or "older diary" of 1880-81.

⁸ He apparently refers to English writer William Cowper (1731-1800) and most likely to Cowper's contemporary James Thomson (1700-48). The latter, a Scottish writer, is best known for his epic poem "The Seasons."

⁹ James R. McCullough was a forty-six-year-old farmer living with his thirty-nine-year-old wife and four children in Rutherford County.

had a son nephew who joined the church some twenty five years ago and is now living in Utah.

He asked us to find his address if we could, as he wished to correspond with him. This Bro. McC[ullough]'s father was a wealthy man, and because he joined the church and refused to renounce his religious convictions, his father disinherited him.

But now he repents of his course towards his son and wishes to see him. I promised to do all I could to find him. Mr. McC[ullough] gave us an invitation to stop at his house when we could make it convenient.

In the afternoon, Bro. and Sister H[awkins] and their oldest daughter [Anna] desired to be baptized; so we repaired to the river close by where I administered the ordinance of baptism to them.

At night I spoke on the second coming of [the] Messiah and events connected with it. We confirmed those who had been baptized.

[February 6, 1882] Bidding this family of Saints goodbye, we started on our return to Baird's Mills via of Cainsville, where we intended staying all night. Arrived there about noon, met many of our old friends who crowded around us, asking of our welfare.

Took dinner with [J. F.] Huddleston¹⁰ who was pleased to see us. His daughter Anna, a girl of twelve summers, played on the piano for us in the afternoon. Had a very pleasant time indeed, remained all night. Have walked 10 miles.

[February 7, 1882] Continued our journey to Baird's Mills. Walked 12 miles. Stayed all night with squire Sanders. A Mr. Ja[me]s Sanders had requested an interview with me, but he was not after truth, it was contention he appeared to desire; talked with him and others untill 12 o'clock.

[February 9, 1882] A Mr. [Richard] Vaughan took us to Lebanon, in Mr. G. P. Huddleston's Jersey.¹¹ Elder Snow was going to Nashville,

¹⁰ J. F. Huddleston was a forty-six-year-old farmer living in Wilson County with his forty-one-year-old wife, two sons, and daughter, Anna.

¹¹ In a letter to Louisa dated 10 February 1882, Roberts writes that locally the term "Jersey" is used for "spring wagon" (letter to Sarah Louisa Roberts, 10 February 1882, box 3, folder 3, B. H. Roberts Papers, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah). Vaughan, a medical student, was Huddleston's son-in-law. His wife, S. C.

and I was on my way to Shady Grove. It was ten miles to Lebanon. We took the afternoon train for N[ashville] — distance of 31 miles.

After putting up our grip-sacks at the boarding house, we strolled about the streets. Step[p]ed into the church where the Evangelist Dr. Hammond was holding fourth. Spent the eve[n]ing] at the [Masonic] theatre saw Miss Fanny Davenport in "School for Scandal": play was well rendered.

[February 10, 1882] Took leave of Elder [Alphonzo] Snow, started on the train for Columbia, where I arrived at 11 A.M. — 47 miles. Met Bro. Robert Coleman with a mule that Bro. R[obert] R. Church had sent for me to ride. Arrived at "Shady" by four o'clock — 17 miles. Brother and Sister Church were glad to see me.

[February 11, 1882] Elders Eardley and Brown came in during the day: both were feeling well, and report a good feeling throughout their field of labor. Also met Elder Emmons Church, president of Ducker Branch.¹²

[February 12, 1882] Remained at the house of R[obert] R. Church nearly all day. Elders Eardley and Brown went to Leather-wood¹³ to fill an appointment. Studied all day.

[February 13, 1882] Wrote seven letters to Elders in various parts of the conference; received a letter from home. Spent the rest of the week in visiting the Saints.

[February 18, 1882] Went with Elder E[ardley] to fill an appointment across the Duck river — distance 5 miles. We held meeting at the house of one Mr. Whitworth:¹⁴ fair congregation — good attention. I spoke on Obedience.

[February 19, 1882] Returned to Bro. R[obert] R. Churches, and at 2-30 preached at the school-house on the subject of "Gathering of

Vaughan, had joined the church. See Gary James Bergera, ed., *The Autobiography of B. H. Roberts* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 132.

¹² Apparently a nickname for Duck River.

¹³ Leatherwood is a small town in eastern Hickman County near Duck River.

¹⁴ James R. Whitworth was a fifty-four-year-old farmer living in Maury County with his forty-seven-year-old wife, Jane, and their six children.

Israel." House filled — good liberty. Then rode 7 miles to fill an appointment at the house of father Treadway. Met Elders E[ardley] and B[rown]. Good congregation and attention.

[February 20-25, 1882] Spent the time reading Dr. Mosheim's Church History, principally that part that pertains to the Reformation.¹⁵ I admire the courage of Luther and his associates manifest in opposing the unrighteousness of the popes; but Oh how much they lacked of having the whole truth themselves! If they could be so constant, so faithful in the defense of the little amount of truth they had unearthed, how much more earnest we ought to be who have come to a knowledge of the very true gospel of the Son of God.

When I sometimes review my own labor's in God's Kingdom, and then compare it with the exertions of some of these faithful men, I am put almost to shame. Still the most of my period of manhood is before me and I hope to accomplish much good in the cause of truth.

[February 26, 1882] I rode five miles to day to Leather-wood to fill an appointment at Jone's schoolhouse; attended meeting there in the morning — a Mr. Daniels, a Methodist, preached. It was the usual sectarian song.

The house was filled in the afternoon, and I preached on "Faith." Several of the Shady Grove Saints came over to [the] meeting.

[February 27-28, 1882] Spent the time in answering letters, reading etc., the last two days I have manifest much lightness of mind, and that decorum which should characterize a servant of God, I have not observed. I wonder when I shall get through making blunders? I am constantly reminded of the saying: — "Ah, naught is pure !

"It cannot be denied that virtue still
 "Some tincture hath of vice,
 "And vice of virtue."¹⁶

¹⁵ Johann Lorenz Mosheim (1694-1755) was a Lutheran scholar of the eighteenth century. Roberts probably refers to his two-volume *Ecclesiastical History Ancient and Modern*. The book went through several printings in the nineteenth century and was also published in four volumes as *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History Ancient and Modern*.

¹⁶ Apparently a paraphrase from Montaigne's essays.

Well, we shall yet have to appear before the bar of God, and all those things which I have done that merit punishment, I shall have to account for, and there will be no shirking. "In the corrupted currents of this world

"Offence's gilded hand may shove by justice,
 "And oft 'tis seen the wicked prize itself
 "Buys out the law: But 'tis not so above;
 "There is no shuffling; there the action lies
 "In his true nature; and we ourselves compelled,
 "Even to the teeth and forehead of our faults
 "To give in evidence."¹⁷

Summary of the Month of Feb[ruary] 1882

Meetings held — — —	7.
Baptized — — — — —	3.
Traveled on foot — —	47 miles
" " horseback	56.
" " R[ail] R[oad]	<u>77.</u>
Total miles traveled	180.

Principal reading was Mosheim's Church history.

The weather was very warm and pleasant being very much like the month of April at home: only one or two very light frosts.

Have received and answered a good many letters. The brethren have reported a good many baptisms, and the work is progressing favorably throughout the state.

[March 2, 1882] Elder Brown accompanied me to Jones' school-house — distance five miles. We took supper at the house of a Mr. Webb. Preached in the eve[ning] to those who came out to hear, but as I was unwell — could not speak with much spirit. Returned to Shady Grove next morning.

[March 3-4, 1882] I remained at the home of Bro. R[obert] R. Church [,] reading the principal part of the time[.]

[March 5, 1882] Had an appointment in Lether Wood today, but as

¹⁷ Shakespeare, *Hamlet* III.3

I was getting ready to go, a heavy rain storm set in which prevented my going.

This place of holding is a rather an out of the way one, so I concluded not any one would be there[,] consequently none would be disappointed by my not going.

[March 6-9, 1882] Visited among the Saints at Shady Grove: reading, answering letters etc.

[March 10, 1882] Elder Ja[me]s W. Eardley and myself walked twelve miles to Tody's [Totty's] Bend, to fill some appointments. About sun down we arrived at the house of Frank Tody [Totty]¹⁸ who received us very kindly. At night quite a number of the neighbors came in and I addressed them upon the subject of the Kingdom of God. Had good liberty of the spirit.

[March 11, 1882] Elder E[ardley] and myself spent the time in visiting with our friends.

Frank Tody [Totty] and Geo[rge] Holderfield¹⁹ applied for baptism — Sunday morning was appointed to attend to it.

At night a good congregation gathered in the house of W[il]liam Tody [Totty],²⁰ I preached on the "Apostasy." Stayed all night with Geo. Holderfield.

[March 12, 1882] Nearly the whole neighborhood came out to witness the baptism of those who had applied for baptism the previous day. Elder E[ardley] attended to the ordinance. We then walked four miles to the house of a Mr. Fuller who had opened his house for the Elders to preach in: only a few were present, Elder E[ardley] spoke on the "First Principles of the Gospel." After meeting we walked some 7 miles to the house of Bro. Mobley;²¹ here we met El-

¹⁸ Frank Totty was a twenty-eight-year-old farmer living in Hickman County with his wife and three-year-old son. Notice from the entries for 11 and 21 March that Frank is baptized and that he and his family immigrate to the West.

¹⁹ George Holderfield was a twenty-six-year-old farmer living in Hickman County with his twenty-six-year-old wife, Isabella, and their two children.

²⁰ William W. Totty was a thirty-seven-year-old farmer living in Hickman County with his thirty-five-year-old wife and three daughters.

²¹ L. C. W. Mobley was a sixty-two-year-old, Hickman County farmer living with his sixty-year-old wife, Louisa, their three sons, a forty-year-old servant, R. Anderson, and her three sons.

der Brown who handed me a letter from Elder Snow containing information concerning immigration matters. We went to Bro. R[obert] R. Church's[,] making 12 miles that we had walked to day.

[*March 13, 1882*] I am twenty-five years old to-day: perhaps one-half of my life has passed away — and what have I done? But little of anything, either of good or evil: my misdeeds are like my talents — on the small order. I have made attempts to accomplish something in various directions, but “miserable failure” is written across the face of each of them. When about fourteen I had arranged to leave home and go to the sea-coast[,] determined to spend my life upon the sea, but this fell through; at sixteen determined to join the army and a friend of mine made application for me to the officers but I was too young to enter the service — so this project failed: I am satisfied that either of the above occupations would have suited my restless disposition better than anything else I could have ingaged in. When seventeen, <more> out or respect for my mother's wishes than any taste I had for the occupation, I was bound out to a man for three years as an apprentice to the black-smith trade; having but little ambition to excell as a tradesman I made but little headway in the shop — another thing which contributed to my failure there, was the fact that my employer had me out in the garden considerably — an occupation I always detested. I managed to stay the time out, as my employer was kind to me. The Autumn after finishing my apprenticeship, like many another young “greeny” without money, property, or sense, I got married; having had the unparalleled audacity to ask a well-to-do farmer's daughter to come and walk the uncertain path of life with me, — to change a comfortable house for none! to leave the plenty she enjoyed, and share my poverty — to leave the meadows, and batten on a dreary moor.²²

I have never regretted my choice of a wife, as I might look the world over and I never could find one who would better suit my temperament than she — my success in securing her, is the luckiest “hit” I ever made in life, but fear it will not prove that on her side.

I tried school-teaching²³ but as my education is limited can only

²² Roberts is paraphrasing *Hamlet*, III.4: “Could you on this fair mountain leave to feed, and batten on this moor?”

²³ In his autobiography, Roberts explains that “after graduation [at Deseret University] I was under obligation to the county, of course, to teach school for at least two years to fulfill this obligation. I accepted the appointment to teach in the county and

hope for a middle place in that proffession. Two years past I have tried preaching — what I can accomplish in that line nothing but the future will unfold.

I can but choose to regret the past when looking over it, but as I cannot call it back to amend it, or straighten out the crooks which appear in the path I have trod, I will look to the present and future, trying to profit by the experience of the past: and maybe after all “There’s a divinity that

“shapes our ends,

“Rough-hew them as we may.”²⁴

Sister Laura Church²⁵ learning it was my birth-day got us up an excellent supper to commemorate the occasion; I shall always appreciate her goodness.

[*March 14-17, 1882*] Visited with the Saints in and around Shady Grove, also answered a number of letters from the brethren: their communications invariable bring news of our progress.

[*March 18, 1882*] Bro. E[mmonds] Church kindly lent five dollars to pay <my way> to Nashville, as Pres. [John] Morgan had requested me to meet him in the above mentioned city. He also furnished me a horse to ride to Columbia the nearest point to the R[ail] R[oad], distance 15 miles. I started on my journey at 7 o’clock, arriving at C[olumbia] in time to board the northern bound train to N[ashville] — 47 miles. Elder Snow met me at the depot, and at the boarding-house I met Pres. Morgan and Elder [William] Rydalch²⁶ from Grantsville.

Pres. M[organ] received me with his usual warm and open manner. He was feeling excellently well, and reports all well at home. The efforts the ungodly are making to deprive the Saints of

discovered in myself some aptitude for that class of work, and an educational career threatened for a time to be my life work.” The university was housed in “an adobe story-and-a-half private house ... on the corner of 1st North and 2nd West” in Salt Lake City. See *Autobiography*, 67, 72; also the diary entry for 27 May 1882 noting that Roberts would teach school again between missions to the South.

²⁴ *Hamlet*, V.2.

²⁵ Laura Church (1838-?) married Robert R. Church in 1864.

²⁶ Thirty-three-year-old William Mitten Rydalch was born in England in 1849, married Mary Whitesides Hunter (1848-1928) in 1867 in Salt Lake City, and was set apart for his mission by Apostle Wilford Woodruff on 23 February 1882. Rydalch died in 1922 in Grantsville, Utah.

their political rights causes no shaking of knees among the inhabitants of Zion — the cup of trembling appears to have been taken away from their lips and given to the enemies. Bro. J[oseph] F. Smith²⁷ and several of the brethren from Davis county wished to be remembered to me. We spent the time during the eve[ning] in pleasant conversation.

[March 19, 1882] This morning I attended the services at the Christian Church where worship was conducted by Elder [R. Lin] Cave.²⁸

As they administered the Sacrament I had the following reflections: In this congregation there are many, no doubt, who are honest in their services, and yet these men who are officiating are doing so with<out> authority, and God does not acknowledge their administering in these ordinances. What an awful thought, that for centuries men have had no authority to administer in these things pertaining to God — yet it is true! declared to be so by the revelations of God, and by their own admissions: How hard it seems to be, that God will not accept their administration! But then, he has made ample provision for those who worship him with real intent, though in an improper form, and if they resist not the truth here, they will have the opportunity of receiving it in its fullness in the Great Hereafter.

Spent the eve[ning] in company with Pres. M[organ] and Bro. Snow at another church, the name of which I have forgotten.

[March 20, 1882] This morning brother Rydalch left us to go to his field of labor in Ala[bama]. Spent the day in pleasant conversation, posting tracts to the brethren etc. At eight o'clock Pres. M[organ] left us, going to Chattanooga to meet the company of Saints collecting at that place.²⁹

²⁷ Joseph F. Smith (1838-1918) was the son of Hyrum and Mary Fielding Smith and, at this time, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and a counselor in the First Presidency. He would become church president in 1901.

²⁸ The Rev. R. Lin Cave "preached his first service on 12 June 1881." When Roberts heard him preach, the First Christian Church had some 600 members. Cave graduated from Kentucky State Bible College in Lexington in 1872 and replaced his brother R. C. Cave when the latter resigned due to ill health. See H. W. Crew, ed., *History of Nashville, Tennessee* (Nashville: Methodist Episcopal Church, 1890), 494-95; Herman A. Norton, *Religion in Tennessee, 1877-1945* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981).

²⁹ Note that mission leaders are coordinating the immigration of church mem-

[*March 21, 1882*] Today I wrote Jos[eph] Ford a release, and an honorable one too, from further duties in the minestery as a traveling elder — How pleasant it will be to his feelings to read: “You have filled your mission satisfactorily to the Priesthood of God — you have done a good work, go take thy well earned rest.” Oh that short sighted man would only realize that his whole life is a mission! Would that we all might be honorably released from our life’s mission! but it will not be so: the summons will come too soon for many of us.

Met a Bro. [Frank] Totty and family, a Bro. [George] Holderfield and family all bound for Col[umbia].

[*March 22, 1882*] I took leave of Elder Snow this morning, going on the 9 o’clock train to Columbia 47 miles. [A]rrived there at 11-30 P.M. I then walked 15 miles to Shady Grove where I was met by Elders Eardley and Brown: stayed all night with these brethren at Uncle E[mmons] Churches.

[*March 23-25, 1882*] Remained with the Saints here at Shady Grove, reading, writing, and I cannot deny but some of our time was wasted pitching horse-shoes, boatridding etc, etc.

[*March 26, 1882*] Today I preached at the school-house, but felt very badly indeed, in consequence of making some unwise remarks, and in my tone displaying considerable egotism. As a general thing in speaking I truly enjoy the Spirit of God, and feel well in my endeavors to instruct the people; but occasionally I appear to be left to myself, or nearly so, and for what purpose I know not unless it be to show my weakness and dependance upon the Holy Spirit. At any rate I feel at such times to exclaim: “My God, My God, why has Thou forsaken me!”

[*March 27-28, 1882*] Spent the most of the time in writing on the “Mission of Joseph Smith.”³⁰

bers (a “company of Saints”) from Chattanooga and Columbia for the West, presumably the LDS settlements in southern Colorado. See diary entries for 21, 30 March 1882.

³⁰ Roberts likely refers to what was later published as “Joseph Smith’s Mission,” *Journal of Discourses* 25 (1884): 130-43.

[March 29, 1882] This morning Elders Eardley and Brown and myself started to study the book of Revelations. We began at the 4th chapter and read all the way through, reading a chapter at a time and then stopping to ask questions, make remarks, and exchange views on whatever subject the matter we read might bring up. We succeeded in getting a better understanding of the prophecies and revelations contained in said book than we previously had.

About noon Elder [Robert] Spence came in from Perry County, he reported the Elders and Saints all well, his business here was to get me to accompany him back to his field of labor, to assist him in delivering a course of lectures at a place called Clifton in Wayne County, on the Tennessee river. The afternoon was spent in pleasant conversation. In the eve[ning] a number of the Saints came in at the house of [B]ro. R[obert] R. Church where we spent a very pleasant eve[ning].

[March 30, 1882] Began making preparations to accompany Bro. S[pence] to Clifton. Bro. A[ndy] Mobley³¹ was expecting to go to Col[umbia] and I had written for the orders for his tickets and was expecting to assist in getting him off: this matter I turned over to Elder J[ames] Eardley to attend to. Called on Bro. Mobley and gave him all the encouragement I could to gather with the Saints.

[March 31, 1882] Bro. R[obert] R. Church furnished me a horse to go to Clifton on, and early this morning I began my journey. Bro. Spence joined me after I had gone 7 miles. We passed the time away very pleasantly in conversation, and about five o'clock arrived at the home of our old friend Tho[mas] Garrett. Here we met Elders Merrill and [Daniel] Bateman both well. Sister Liza Garrett,³² her father and mother gave us a warm welcome. This family do not belong to the Church, but they have [been] warm friends to the Elders for the past three years: their house has ever been a home for the brethren. The daughter is a fine young lady and with all quite accomplished. I hope they will soon join the Church.

We held a meeting at the house of Bro. Ja[me]s De Priest. A

³¹ The fifteen-year-old son of L. C. W. and Louisa Mobley. See note 20.

³² Roberts refers to Elizabeth Garrett, the fourteen-year-old daughter of Thomas and Elander Garrett.

good congregation present. Elder Spence spoke first I followed, having good liberty.

Summary of Month [March 1882]

Meetings Held	6
Assisted to baptized	2
Traveled on foot	37
" " R. R.	100
" " horse-back	60
Total miles traveled	197

My principal reading has been in the scriptures this month. Have also written considerable for my own improvement.

The latter part of the month I can say I have been a little more alive to several of my duties.

[April 1, 1882] This morning we took leave of Bro. Garrett and family; met several Elders at the house of Bro. [Mason] Talley, here we held prayers with a number of the Saints and after singing a hymn we separated to go to our various occupations, the Saints to their labors. Elders Spence, Bateman and myself to fill our appointments on the Tennessee river.

As we journeyed along we beguiled the time in pleasant conversation: we rode thirty miles and put up our horses at a Bro. Millers³³ at whose house I had once before visited. After supper we walked some three miles to an old deserted house where we were to hold [a] meeting — a large crowd had assembled, and I addressed them on the principles of the Gospel. We stayed all night with Squire Denton.

[April 2, 1882] Another good congregation assembled at the old house where we held meeting the night previous, and after Elder Bateman had spoken a short time, I addressed them on the subject of the Restoration of the Gospel. The people paid strict attention,

³³ This would be Philip Miller, mentioned in the diary entry for 21 October 1881, about whom little more is known than that he was sympathetic to the elders. However, the fact that he was shot at by the Ku Klux Klan may indicate that Miller (referred to as "Mr. Miller" in 1881 and "Bro. Miller" in this entry) was a church member. Roberts will be in Wayne County for the next five days.

and I also spoke for some length of time on the duties of Saints. After service was over Elder Bateman and myself spent the afternoon <and night> with a Mr. Dedrich.

[April 3, 1882] We started this morning for Clifton to fill our appointment there. I took my horse seven miles on the way and left it in the pasture of a Mr. Queen,³⁴ who kindly agreed to let it remain there during the six days I expected to stay in Clifton. We then walked on some seven miles further to C[lifton]. When within a mile of the above named town, we arranged to have Elder Spence go in and make arrangements with the Landlord of the hotel for one of us to remain in town while the other two were to walk out to visit our friends etc. Bro. B[ateman] and myself turned aside, calling on a friend by the name of Woodie [Woody]. We were very coldly received, but remained untill after supper, and then went to C[lifton] where we found Bro. S[pence] in apple-pie order for delivering the first of the published series, but the audience failed to make their appearance. About nine o'clock about eight or ten men made their appearance; we told them as so little interest was manifest by the people of C[lifton] we would withdraw and make our other appointments. The next morning we had a notice put in the paper to that effect.

[April 4, 1882] Leaving C[lifton] we made our way to Mr. Queen's, calling on a Mr. Herolds³⁵ on the way. From Q[ueen]s, we went to squire [George] Grimes' where we purposed staying all night. Mr. Grimes' son suggested that we hold a meeting to which we assented. Some twelve or fifteen persons came in, and I spoke to them about an hour and a half.

[April 5, 1882] Took leave of the brethren and Saints and started on my return to Hickman Co[unty]. I arrived at the house of Sister [Joicy] Talley just about dark, having rode 37 miles.

[April 6, 1882] Continued my journey toward Shady Grove, taking

³⁴ "Mr. Queen" is church member James Campbell Queen. See diary entry for 29 Oct. 1881. In retracing his previous path through this area, Roberts also visits "a friend by the name of Woodie"—Joshua Woody (see 29 Oct. 1881).

³⁵ John T. Herold was a forty-eight-year-old farmer living in Cannon County with his forty-year-old wife, Martha, and their six sons and one daughter.

with me Elder Merrill from Tho[ma]s Garrets: I noticed this morning that Bro. [John W.] Taylor was not feeling towards me as he ought too, at least I suspected such to be the case. On the way Elder M[errill] told me that Bro T[aylor] was offended because he considered that I should have intimated to him that he was going to be released, so that he could have had some money on hand to start directly for home; he also thought I had slighted him because I had called on Bro. Merrill to officiate in the ordinance of baptism instead of himself some two or three months previous. I regard his conduct as rather foolish, but I can look over it, and perhaps I appear just as unwise in many of my doings as he does in this matter. Oh dear! when will the time come that no one blunders?

On our arrival at Bro. R[obert] R. Churches we were pretty well wet through. About an hour after our arrival Elder Ford, my old traveling companion, joined us: he had come down to pay me a visit before his return home. I was glad to see him, for with his face came a recollection of days now gone. What a joy there ~~will~~ certainly will be, when the graves shall be opened, and the Saints shall clasp the hands of old friends from whom we may have been parted!

[April 7-8, 1882] Elder Ford <and myself> visited with the Saints and each other, talking over old times.

[April 9, 1882] Elders Ford, Brown, and myself went to Pennington's Peak schoolhouse where we had a good congregation in attendance. Bro. Ford spoke first, I followed: we had good liberty. Stayed all night with Samuel Hoover. Very pleasant time.

[April 10-11, 1882] On the 10th Elders Merrill and Eardley started for Cane Creek where they expect to labor for a few weeks untill Conference. The rest of us passed the time a way among the Saints. Bro. Ford expected [to] have started for home on the 12th, but sprained his foot in getting over the fence and he concluded to remain untill Friday.

[April 14, 1882] This morning I accompanied Bro. Ford to Columbia on horse-back — dis[tance] there and return 32 miles. The air was cool and refreshing, the woods were now in full leaf — clothed in the rich green of spring, and as we passed along, the varied notes of the mock-bird saluted our ears. When ever our road led us to the

summit of the many hills over which it passed — a beautiful land-scape was sure to burst upon our view, calling forth our exclamations of admiration. We arrived in C[olumbia] several hours before the train was to start to Nashville, so we had our photographs taken together[,] Bro. Ford sitting[,] my self standing.

At three o'clock I took leave of Bro. F[ord]. He was now to go to his friends and family, I must return to my labors of preaching the Gospel.

[April 16, 1882] We held two meetings to day, one at Shady Grove, and one at a Mr. [James] W[h]itworth's; — we also held one at Mr. W[hitworth]'s Saturday night. At these meetings we enjoyed good liberty of the spirit.

[April 17-19, 1882] Was not very well — besides my eyes have been threatening to be sore, and consequently have not read much.

[April 20, 1882] We were joined to day by Elder Cha[rle]s. F. Martineau,³⁶ a young man from Logan, Cache county, Utah. We give him a hearty welcome into the conference, and pray that God will bless him in his labors.

[April 21, 1882] In the afternoon Elders Brown, Martineau, and myself started to Totty's Bend to fill our appointments. The weather was exceedingly warm, and as Elder Martineau was unaccustomed to walking[,] he suffered both from heat and his feet paining him. The distance was 12 miles. We held meeting at the house of Bro. W[illia]m Totty;³⁷ attendance small. I occupied the time.

[April 22, 1882] Spent the day with a Mr. Moor fishing. Held another meeting at the house of a Mr. Hynes, better attendance than on the previous night. We all spoke, good attention.

[April 23, 1882] We visited with our friends at the Bend untill about

³⁶ Charles Freeman Martineau, twenty years of age, was born in Logan, Utah, in 1861. He was set apart for his mission on 10 April 1882 by Church Patriarch John Smith. Martineau married Eva Rosetta Rice (1864-1944) in 1886 in Logan and died there in 1935.

³⁷ William W. Totty was a thirty-six-year-old farmer living in Hickman County along with his thirty-four-year-old wife, Elizabeth, and their three children.

noon, then walked some three miles to the house of a Mr. Fuller where we held another meeting, Elder Martineau and myself occupying the time. In the afternoon we walked to Shady Grove where we had another appointment; a good audience was present; Elder Brown spoke a short time, after which I delivered a discourse on the subject of "Authority" – good attention: stayed all night with Bro. I[saac]. E. Church. One day last week I received a letter from Bro. H[yrum] Belnap who before me was president of the Tenn[essee] Conference, – it contained \$10.00 sent to me by Bro. Levi B. Hammon³⁸ of South Hooper. I became acquainted with Bro. Levi when acting as superintendent of the Davis county Y[oung] M[ens] M[utual] I[mprovement] A[ssociation]. His gift was timely, as it enabled me to pay Bro. I. E. Church the five dollars I owed him; and the \$1.50 I owed Elder Brown.

[April 25, 1882] Today I took a horse of Bro. R[obert] R. Churches, "Old Trave,"³⁹ and went to Columbia where I expected to meet Elder John Morgan, and from there we were to go to Perry county by way of Waynesboro. I found Pres. M[organ] at the Nelson House. After considering our experience in every way, we concluded it would be cheapest to go to conference⁴⁰ by way of Shady Grove and Cane Creek and by doing so, we could accommodate Elders Martineau and Brown. We therefore returned to Shady Grove. We spent the evening at the house of Bro. I. E. Church[,] a number of the Saints gathering in to visit us.

[April 26, 1882] This morning Elders Morgan, Brown, Martineau, and myself started on our trip to Conference. We passed the time

³⁸ Levi Byram Hammon was born in 1849 in St. Louis, Missouri, and married Martha Jane Belnap (1855-1923), a sister of Hyrum Belnap, in 1870. He died in 1915 in Roy, Utah.

³⁹ In his published autobiography, Roberts notes that he was loaned "the use of a somewhat noted horse ... a dun colored horse named Traveler after the famous war horse of General Robert E. Lee" (*Autobiography*, 135). On the other hand, Madsen noted that the "dun-colored horse" was likely named "Old Traveler" after the one Parley P. Pratt had ridden (*Defender of the Faith*, 132).

⁴⁰ This refers to another regional mission conference, this time on the border of Wayne and Perry Counties between Clifton and Linden. Roberts and his companions will travel to Shady Grove and south to Cane Creek in Lewis County to meet with church members at Mason Talley's home, then continue farther west into Perry County. In returning to Shady Grove, they will first visit Linden a mile farther north in Perry County.

very pleasantly in conversation untill we arrived at Cane Creek at about three o'clock. We got out an appointment for evening, the Saints coming together at the house of Bro. Talley, Bro. Morgan occupied the time.

[April 27, 1882] In the morning we continued our journey over a very rough road, but about sun-down we arrived at the house of Bro. Keeling,⁴¹ who we found had met with an accident by a tree falling upon him. We left Bro. Morgan here, and Elder Brown and myself stayed all night with a Mrs. Enmon.⁴²

[April 28, 1882] We spent the day visiting the Saints, holding a meeting in the afternoon at which I blessed four children. Stayed all night with Bro. Miller.

[April 29, 1882] This morning twelve of us Elders met under the shade of the trees and engaged in secret and circle prayer. We then received splendid instruction from Pres. Morgan and others of the brethren.

At 10 A.M. we met with the Saints and strangers who had assembled. I was requested to preside which I did, and appointed R[obert] S. Spence to act as cleark. Bro. Ja[me]s Eardley and myself occupied the fore noon. At noon the Saints spread a sumptuous repast under the shade of the bowery, of which the entire congregation partook.

At 2 o'clock meeting was continued Pres. Morgan and myself occupying the time. After services the Elders assembled in secret and were further instructed in their duties. Before meeting this afternoon Pres. Morgan took me aside, and informed me that I had filled an honorable mission, and would be released to return to my home. I will not attempt to discribe my feelings at this announcement — suffice it to say my heart gave a big throb of joy to learn that my labors had been performed satisfactorily. I suggested that Elder [Richard] Camp be appointed to take my place as Pres[ident] of the West Tenn[essee] Conference.⁴³

⁴¹ George C. Keeling was a thirty-six-year-old farmer living in Perry County with his thirty-three-year-old wife, Nancie, and their six children.

⁴² Probably Marthie A. Enmon, a twenty-one-year-old housekeeper living in Perry County with her twenty-four-year-old husband, L. Enmon.

⁴³ Roberts was selected president of the Tennessee Conference in April 1881. By

[April 30, 1882] Nine o'clock found the Elders in our place of secret prayer. The brethren received further instructions. It was moved that Elder Roberts be released to return home, which carried unanimously. It was motioned that Elder R[ichard] C. Camp be sustained as president of the Conference which met with the approval of all present.

10 o'clock found a large congregation assembled at the bowery. Several of the brethren spoke reporting their fields of labor etc. Bro. Morgan followed in a very interesting discourse. Dinner was prepared as the day before. In the afternoon Elders Bateman, Spence and myself occupied the time. Our conference was a very grand success, a good spirit prevailed and much instruction was imparted to the Saints.

Summary of the Month of April [1882]

Number of meetings held —	17
Miles traveled on foot —	54
" " " horse-back —	266
Total —	320

On account of the distance traveled I have studied but little. My reading was mostly in Times & Seasons. The weather has been cool for this month, several heavy rains.

Blessed four children.

[May 1, 1882] This morning Elders Morgan, Merrill, Eardley and myself, after singing a farewell hymn, took leave of the rest of the Elders and Saints, and started on our return for Columbia. We passed through Linden, where we met with Bro. [Wess] Hunt and family also Sister McCaig from Spring Creek. Twelve miles out from Linden we left Bro. Merrill who went to fill an appointment on Cane Creek. We arrived at Cane Creek about 5 o'clock, held meeting — Pres. M[organ] and myself did the speaking.

[May 2, 1882] Bidding our friends goodbye, we continued our journey towards Columbia, making it in to Bro. R[obert] R. Churches'

now, the conference had split into the West and East Conferences. When Roberts returns in 1883, he will become president of the East Tennessee Conference.

in the middle of the afternoon. Held meeting at the Shady Grove school-house Bro. Morgan doing the speaking. A goodly number were present to whom I bore a solemn testimony of the truth of the Gospel.

[May 3, 1882] This morning I began to make ready for my departure. Bro. Church gave me \$3.00 to help me along. I felt truly bad in leaving these my friends to whom I had become warmly attached, and who I believe reciprocated my feelings of friendship. It was nearly as bad as leaving home, and I saw the tear of regret standing ready to fall from the eyes of those whose hands I shook for the last time perhaps. I think it proper here to mention the kindness of Sister Phoebe Church⁴⁴ to me, and all the rest of the Elders. She was ever ready to administer comforting words or actions to the Elders – would smile when they smiled; would weep when they had cause to weep.

During a spell of sickness I passed through at the house of her father, she was ever anxiously watching for a chance to do something to relieve my pain: she looked after my cloathing for about eight months, and in various ways administered to my necessities – such as furnishing me with her horse to ride etc. etc., And now O Lord, wilt thou bless her; and if those who only administer a cup of cold water unto a servant of Thine shall in nowise loose his reward – take note of the multitude of actions of kindness which she has bestowed upon thy servants.

We arrived at Columbia at twelve; we settled our livery bill which amounted to \$13.50. Bro. Eardley had come with us to take back our horses to Shady – he left us at 2 P.M.

In the afternoon we went to Nashville arriving there at five P.M. Attended service at the Christian Church. Bought a suit of cloaths for which I paid \$16.50. Wrote to my wife informing her of my release.⁴⁵

[May 4, 1882] At 7-00 A.M., took leave of Pres. M[organ] going on the train to Lebanon – 31 miles. From there I walked 10 miles to a

⁴⁴ The nineteen-year-old daughter of Isaac E. and Mary A. Church.

⁴⁵ In updating Louisa on his travels, Roberts told her he was starting early for another trip to Wilson County and that “[a]fter that—shortly after I hope—I shall set my face toward home, as I have been honorably released from my labor’s here” (letter to Louisa Roberts, 3 May 1882, box 3, folder 3, Roberts Papers).

Mr. G. P. ["Perk"] Huddleston's, where I met Sisters [S. C.] Vaughan and [E. J.] Huddleston, and Elder [Alphonzo] Snow, and a number of other friends.

[May 5-7, 1882] In company with Elder Snow I spent the time in visiting several families of the Saints and friends.

[May 8, 1882] Today about ~~ten~~ 12 o'clock Elders Andrew McCombs, [George] Comer, W[illia]m Joseph, and Ja[me]s J. Adams, joined us. The brethren were all in good health, and excellent spirits. Elders Joseph and Adams reported a good prospective field of labor in Claiborne and Unicoi Countys.⁴⁶ We spent the afternoon in pleasant conversation and in singing hymns untill it was time for us to separate among the families of the Saints to stay all night.

[May 11, 1882] Rode to Lebanon with G. P. Huddleston, distance there and return 20 mi[les]. Met Pres. Morgan at the Jackson Hotel, took dinner with him, after which, we visited some of the localities where several incidents had occurred to him in his journies through the country several years ago. We left L[ebanon] about 5 o'clock — getting at the home of Mr. H[uddleston] just at dark. Sister H[uddleston] was quite sick and had been so for several days; She requested to be adminestered to, so we consecrated some oil and attended to the ordinance with marked effect. She slept well all night, and the next day was quite well.

[May 12, 1882] This morning the Elders of this part of the conference met in council — Elder Morgan presiding. The brethren all expressed their willingness to continue their labor, and many items of instruction were given; we adjourned, to meet again in the afternoon. Pres M[organ] addressed the council, giving the Elders good instructions on their duties as workmen in the Kingdom of God. Mostly on how to approach people with the Gospel — what to teach etc. etc.

[May 13, 1882] This morning conference assembled at a house near Wetmore's school-house. It had been appointed at the above

⁴⁶ These two counties are in the eastern part of the state.

named school-house, but on account of the inclement weather we had to hold it in a dwelling house in order to have a fire.

There were not many present on Saturday, but a good feeling prevailed. I presided. At noon all present partook of a picnic dinner which the Saints had provided

At the close of the afternoon meeting the Elders met again in council and that part of Tennessee lying East of the L[ouisville] & N[ashville] R[ail] R[oad] was organized into a conference, and Elder A. H. Snow was appointed to preside. Elder Geo[rge] Comer was transferred to the West Tenn[essee] Conference, and Elder Cha[rles] Andrews, to the Alabama Conference.

[May 14, 1882] Conference assembled at 10-30. The room was crowded, and the spirit of the Lord was with us. Most of the people remained at dinner with the Saints who had provided for them as on the day before.

In the afternoon Pres. J[ohn] Morgan delivered a very interesting discourse — I bore testimony. Stayed all night with J. I. Sanders. See <old> scrap book <1st Diary,> for full minutes of Conference page ____.⁴⁷

[May 15, 1882] Pres. Morgan left us this morning, going to Nashville.

In the afternoon I administered the ordinance of baptism to M. ____ Sanders: in the eve[ning] Bro. McCoombs and myself went to the house of our old friend Irvine Sanders who gave us a hearty welcome to his fare.

[May 16-19, 1882] The next few days I spent visiting among the Saints and friends in this locality — (this part of my journal was written in 1883, so can not give exact dates) On the 19th day of May I went to Lebanon with Mr. Huddleston and to my joy found \$70.00 waiting for me. This means had been raised by the Saints in Centerville, to take me home. Bro. John Smith the pres[ident] of the Mass quorums of Seventies in Centerville was very active in getting this means tog[e]ther. Pres. J[ohn] Morgan had written the

⁴⁷ The scrapbook Roberts refers to here and elsewhere in his diaries is apparently no longer extant, but references to it are retained in case it is ever found.

Saints for it and they responded most promptly, and I ask God to bless them for it.

I went to Nashville in the afternoon where I met Elder Andrews and Pres. M[organ]. Spent the night very pleasantly with them.

[May 20, 1882] At 8 A.M. I bid the brethren farewell and started for home. I shall not try to record my feelings only those who have been absent from their loved ones over two years can appreciate it.

[May 21, 1882] I arrived in St. Louis this morning hunted up the Saints two or three families of whom I visited. In the afternoon I met Elders M[atthias F.] Cowley⁴⁸ and [George E.] Howe⁴⁹ I had heard a great deal of Elder Cowley, and was very much pleased to make his acquaintance. He is a fine young man, one that is interested in the Gospel, and will be a useful man — he is very humble in his demeanor — interesting in his conversation, and unwavering in his faith. In company with him I visited the water works, and other points of interest.

[May 22, 1882] I attended a meeting of the Saints, in the afternoon, at which I occupied the time instructing the Saints in their duties how to obtain the Spirit and then how to retain it etc. In the evening continued my journey homeward.

[May 26, 1882] This evening the West bound train over the U[nion] P[acific] R[ail] R[oad] dashed into Ogden and I was aboard, and soon on the S[outh] bound U[tah] C[entral] R[ail] R[oad] for Centerville, I need not try to tell my feelings in thus coming to the home of the Saints. I had been absent for two years and

⁴⁸ Twenty-three-year-old Matthias Foss Cowley was born in 1858 in Salt Lake City and served two missions in the southern states from 1878 through 1882. He married Abigail Hyde (1863-1931) in 1884, Luella Smart Parkinson (1870-1962) in 1889, and Nora Taylor (1862-?) in 1905. He was ordained an apostle in 1897 but was forced to resign from the Quorum of the Twelve eight years later because of his unauthorized support of post-Manifesto polygamy. He died in 1940 in Salt Lake City. See D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1997), 62-63, 182, 652-54.

⁴⁹ Twenty-three-year-old George Edward Howe was born in 1858 in St. Louis, Missouri, and was living in Salt Lake City when set apart for his mission by Apostle George Q. Cannon on 14 October 1881. Howe married Sarah August Barney (1868-1924) in 1883 and Althea Sylvester (ca. 1876-?) in 1926. He died in 1949 in Richfield, Utah.

two months or nearly that, I had filled my mission and my cloud <sky> was with out a cloud. The train steamed into Kaysville and on the plat-form was my wife, my little girl Adah, my mother and Father in law, Pres. W[illiam] R. Smith. Let the curtain fall untill we reach Centerville Station, where quite a number of my friends had turned out to meet me, among them my old traveling companion, Joseph Ford, who had been so kind to me in a strange land.

Was drove to the house of my father-in-law where quite a number of other friends awaited my coming. Shortly after getting to the house I met Mary E. Smith — she had been married during my absence to W[illiam C.] Smith of Kaysville.⁵⁰ She [crossed out and undecipherable in original] is a fine woman, and <many> has been the pleasant time we have had together.

We had a good supper, after which the eve[ning] up to a late hour was spent in pleasant conversation.

[May 27, 1882] Today I went to Salt Lake and reported myself to the Authorities of the Church. I met Elder W[ilford] W. Woodruff⁵¹ who listened to my report, and told me much of his experience in early days. Also met F[ranklin] D. Richards⁵² and Jos[eph] F. Smith both of whom gave me a hearty welcome home accompanied with a wish that God would bless me. After thus winding up my Missionary labors so far as this mission was concerned went to my home where I had other duties to attend to.

A day or two after getting home⁵³ I went to work fixing up fence and working a while with my brother-in-law H[enry] Rampton⁵⁴ in the blacksmith shop.

⁵⁰ Roberts refers to William C. Smith (1852-1937) and Mary Elanor Smith (1858-1936), who married 12 January 1882 in Salt Lake City. Mary was the daughter of William R. Smith and his plural wife Mary Elizabeth Ricks.

⁵¹ Wilford Woodruff (1807-98) was president of the Quorum of the Twelve and had been an apostle since 1839. He would become the fourth president of the church on 7 April 1889.

⁵² Franklin Dewey Richards (1821-1899) had been an apostle since 12 February 1849 and would become president of the Quorum of the Twelve in 1898, succeeding Wilford Woodruff in that position.

⁵³ The last five paragraphs of this diary were written at a later date and cover the period from June 1882 through March 1883.

⁵⁴ Henry J. Rampton married Luna Smith (1860-1922), B. H. Roberts's sister-in-law, in 1878. Rampton was a blacksmith in Centerville and remained close to Roberts throughout his life. Rampton was born in 1855 in St. Louis, Missouri, and

I next took a trip out to Goose Creek⁵⁵ to shear sheep for J[oseph] Ford. While out in this country I preached several times to the people in Goose Creek Valley. Returning to Centerville on the 4th [of] July. The remainder of the summer I worked for the Ford boys, they paying me \$40 per. month. In the fall I began the erection of a house 18 x 32, making two rooms.

The very day I started work on the foundation I received a letter from Pres. J[ohn] M[organ] <stating> that I had been selected to assist the Presidency of the S[outhern] S[tates] Mission. I expressed a willingness to again leave my home to labor in the Ministry, and began making preparations to that end, but for some reason or other it passed off without my being obliged to go. I [was] engaged to teach school in Bountiful during the winter <\$60 per month>. In the fall there was quite an active <political> campaign as the Liberals were desirous of wresting from the Saints their rights. The Gentiles ran P[hilip] T. Van Zile for Representative to Congress and the Saints J. T. Cain[e].⁵⁶ I entered warmly into the Cause of the people, and spoke in several places in Davis Co. on the Political issues. During the Winter I lectured in various parts of the County to the YMMIA, generally preached some where in the county on Sundays, took an active part in all local institutions and did all in my power to make them successful.

I also did many things that were wrong, <which> were not becoming a servant of God, I frequently gave way to passion in my

died in Centerville in 1927. His grandson, Utah governor Calvin L. Rampton, recalled that his grandfather, "in spite of his congenial exterior and friendly manners, was somewhat of a freethinker and objected violently to being told what to think. He made some public utterances that were critical of some of the church doctrines ... and [was] threatened with excommunication. Largely because of the intervention of Brigham Henry Roberts, ... he was not excommunicated but [was] disfellowshipped ... [which] didn't particularly seem to bother Grandfather, who never made application for reinstatement" (see Calvin L. Rampton, *As I Recall*, eds. Floyd A. O'Neil and Gregory C. Thompson (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 6-7.

⁵⁵ Located in Box Elder County in the northwest corner of Utah approximately 100 miles from Centerville.

⁵⁶ John Thomas Caine received 23,039 votes to Van Zile's 4,884. Born in 1829 on the Isle of Mann, Caine immigrated to the United States in 1846 and began teaching school in Utah. He married Margaret Nightingale (1833-1911) in 1850 in Salt Lake City; became involved in politics as a member of the Territorial Council, 1874-1882; and served ten years as Utah's delegate to the U.S. Congress, 1882-1892. In 1870 Caine was one of the founders of the *Salt Lake Herald*. He returned to that paper after his political career ended. He died in 1911 in Salt Lake City.

family, which was not propper; I met with many temptations, that nearly overcame me; and often grieved the spirit of God.

For all this I expect to be chastened and reprov'd, as I did not sin unto death, and the stripes may be many, but I will try to bear them. I thank God, however, that I was still thought worthy to take another mission: In the Spring I was called to act as Counselor to Pres. J[ohn] Morgan of the S[outhern] S[tates] Mission.

III.
Acting President of
the Southern States Mission

1 8 8 3

[*March 29, 1883*]¹ Today I was set apart to assist Elder John Morgan in the Southern States Mission. I very much regret that a ver ba tum report was not taken of what was said, but what I remember of it is given below.

Pres. [John] Taylor,² Geo[rge] Q. Cannon,³ F[ranklin] D. Richards, and Erastus Snow⁴ attended to setting me apart, Pres. Taylor being mouth.

Bro. B. H. Roberts,

In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by virtue of the Holy Priesthood we lay our hands upon you, and set you apart to the mission unto which you have been called and appointed, even to assist in presiding over the Southern States Mission — to watch over the

¹ This entry directly follows the last entry for 1882.

² John Taylor (1808-1887) was ordained an apostle in 1838, sustained as president of the Quorum of the Twelve in 1877, and became church president in October 1880. Roberts's admiration for Taylor began in his youth and continued throughout his life.

³ George Quayle Cannon (1827-1901) was ordained an apostle in 1860 and served as a counselor to Brigham Young before he became first counselor to John Taylor in 1880. He would later serve as a counselor to Wilford Woodruff and Lorenzo Snow.

⁴ Erastus Snow (1818-1888) was ordained an apostle in 1849 by Brigham Young.

interests of the Kingdom of God in that district of country — under the direction of Elder John Morgan, and of the Twelve, in as much as it is their calling to preside over such matters in foreign lands: And we bless you with the Spirit and power of this calling, and say unto you ~~to~~ be faithful and God will bless you with the spirit of Revelation to guide you in your labors, and wisdom shall be given you, in directing your brethren in their labors; You shall be an instrument in the hands of God in bringing many to a knowledge of the truth, and in teaching them the principles of Righteousness, and leading them to Zion. We pray God to bless you in your Labors, In the name of Jesus Amen.

[April, 2 1883] Early this morning I bid my wife [Louisa] adieu to go on my mission. It was a severe trial to her to have me go again from home as I had only been at home from my 1st mission ten months; and it appeared all she could bear to have me go again. The Lord will support her, however, and bless her for making the sacrifice. It was also a great trial for my Mother [Ann], apparently, for me to go again, but she felt proud that I was counted worthy to go.

The brethren and sisters in Centerville have been exceeding kind to me. They assisted me in finishing my house, so that I have a comfortable home for my family, and besides that have given me money to help me on my journey. I had erected the walls of my house myself, but the people of C[enterville] did the rest. — put on the ruff — laid the floor — put in the windows — did the carpenter work on the inside — plastered it etc. etc. Bro. John Ford⁵ and M[elvin] Randall had been appointed a committee by the people to attend to this work of seeing that it was completed and they did their work well. After doing all this — a number of the saints gave me money so that I was able to pay most all my debts, had money to leave with my family to the amount of \$30.00, and had some money to take with me. The way opened up so that I received a pass over the U[nion] P[acific] R[ail] R[oad] to Cheyenne [Wyoming, — and from thence to Denver[, Colorado].

My mother and little daughter Adah, also my father-in-law and several other friends went with me to the depot. On the train I met

⁵ John Ford, the older brother of Roberts's missionary colleague, Joseph Ford, was born in 1843 in Gravely, England. He married Elizabeth Garn (1851-1934) in 1868 in Salt Lake City and died in 1928 in Centerville, Utah.

Joseph Barton⁶ who gave me an introduction to some gentlemen that were Jews, and leaving me gave me \$5.00. May the Lord reward him.

[April 3, 1883] About noon today arrived at Cheyenne and from thence took train for Denver where we arrived about 7 P.M. On the train I overheard five men make arrangements to meet a strumpet who was sitting just in the next seat behind me. She had a husband and two children so I learned from their conversation — yet she was to meet these 5 men within the two days following — Truly a righteous? generation this.

At Denver I called on Mr. Mims, Gen[eral] Pass[enger] Ag[en]t D[enver] & R[io] G[rande] R[ailwa]y. of whom I secured pass over his road. Stayed all night at the Markham Exchange went to the opera in the eve[n]ing]. At 7:30 P.M. took

[April 4, 1883] Spent the day in visiting places of interest — the art gallery — Tabor Opera house — New City Hall etc. — as the day was dreary — cloudy and wet[,] it was not favorable to sightseeing. At 7:30 P.M. took train for <La Jara>[, Colorado,]⁷ Antineto where we arrived 12 [noon] the next day.

[April 5, 1883] From La Jara station went to the new Mormon settlement of Richfield[, Colorado]⁸ — called upon and took dinner with a [B]ro. [Soren] Berthelsen⁹ who after dinner took me to Manassa¹⁰

⁶ Barton was a Davis County politician and neighbor of Roberts. He was born in 1848 in St. Helens, England; married Mary Ann Allen (1850-?) in 1869; moved to Baker, Oregon, in 1896; and died there in 1932.

⁷ La Jara is a small town in Conejos County in southern Colorado, twenty miles north of the border with New Mexico and ten miles west of the Rio Grande. It lies in the heart of San Luis Valley, east of the San Juan Mountains and the continental divide and west of the Sangre de Cristo Range, midway between Utah and Kansas.

⁸ Richfield is about one mile east of La Jara and was notable for its Denver and Rio Grande Western railway station.

⁹ Soren C. Berthelsen was born in 1844 in Denmark. He married Mariane Sorensen (1832-?) in 1865 and Josephine Echols (1857-1912) in 1884. He was an early settler in Colorado who served as a counselor in the stake presidency, 1884-1886, and bishop of the Sanford [Colorado] ward, 1888-1899. He died in Sanford in 1912.

¹⁰ Manassa is about ten miles southwest of La Jara. Between La Jara and Manassa was the Mormon settlement of Ephraim (Manassa and Ephraim were sons of the biblical Joseph), since renamed Sanford after Silas Sanford Smith. Roberts visits Sanford on 8 April.

where we met Elders John Morgan, C[harles] Brown (with whom I traveled some in Tenn[essee] in 1881-2). Men may sing of the joys they feel in going to their homes & country — but of all joys none are so exquisite as that which we experience in meeting those for whom we have formed a love when abroad — when we were strangers together in a strange land. Pres. Morgan met me with all his usual open, frank, and hearty manner. Those are the kind of people I like — those who are warm hearted, and are not ashamed to let their feelings gush out, stayed all night with Captain Elledge [Elledge] — a fine family.¹¹

[April 6, 1883] The people assembled in Conference and I occupied a portion of the time at the request of Pres. M[organ] we had a good meeting. In the afternoon met with quite a number of the Saints who I had assisted in bringing into the Church — among them the family of [B]ro. [John] Hawkins who I had baptized, and also [B]ro. Adams — and several of the De Priests, also a Bro. F[rank] Totty.¹²

Stayed all night with a [B]ro. [Louis] Echols[,]¹³ fine family — Elder Brown stayed with me.

[April 7, 1883] Conference convined at 10. A.M. Pres. Silas S. Smith[,]¹⁴ Pres[ident] of the San Luis stake¹⁵ was present. He had

¹¹ D. H. Elledge was a sixty-year-old farmer from Tennessee, living in Manassa, Conejos County, with his sixty-year-old wife, Elizabeth, and several of their children.

¹² Roberts probably refers to John Adams, who was a twenty-one-year-old farmer living in Wilson County with his wife of the same age, Sallie, at the time Roberts was in the state. However, Roberts may mean John and Margaret Adams from Coffee County since both families relocated to Colorado. The DePriests and Totty are periodically mentioned in Roberts's mission diaries.

¹³ Louis Barton Echols was born in 1834 in Franklin County, Georgia. He married Emily Jane Weems (1837-1910) in 1855. Their son, Samuel, was one of Roberts's southern states missionary companions. Louis died in 1913 in Thatcher, Arizona.

¹⁴ Silas Sanford Smith was born in 1830 in Stockholm, New York, to Silas and Mary Atkins Smith. He moved to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1836 and came to Utah in 1849, settling in Davis County. He married Clarinda Ricks in 1851; served a mission to the Sandwich Islands, 1854-1856; was Bishop of Paragonah, Utah; and was the San Luis, Colorado, stake president from 1883 through 1892. He returned to Davis County, where he died in 1910.

¹⁵ The San Luis Stake encompassed the large, high-mountain San Luis Valley (125 miles long, 65 miles wide) through which the Old Spanish Trail led from Santa Fe through the La Garita Pass at the northwest end of the valley. The stake included a few settlements in northern New Mexico. See Albert R. Smith, President of San Luis

been laid up for some time with gout and had to come to church on crutches. I occupied the forenoon, and had good liberty of the Spirit.

Pres. M[organ] [s]poke in the afternoon, and taught the people their duties in great plainness. We had a time of rejoicing in our conference, which I think has accomplished much good.

[April 8, 1883] This morning we attended the Sunday-school review and witnessed the children go through their exercises — which was done in a credible manner. We made a few remarks. We had to leave a little before the exercises were quite finished in order to be in time to fill an ap[poinment] at the settlement called Ephraim[, Colorado]. Pres. S[ilas] S. Smith's son drove us over in his carriage — The most of the people turned out — Elder [James William] Bean¹⁶ and myself occupied the time. (Pres. M[organ] had business to attend to which prevented his going). At the close of meeting we witnessed a heavy wind storm, which filled the atmosphere with vast clouds of dust and sand. We returned to Manassa, [Colorado,] and I stopped alone with a bro. [William] Christensen¹⁷ [second] counselor to Pres. S[ilas] Smith.

[April 9, 1883] Today Captain Elledge hitched up a fine pair of horses to a three seated carriage and Elders Morgan, Brown, Bean, Captain Elledge, and myself drove all day through San Luis valley — crossing the Conejos & the San Antoin [Rivers]. Passed through a fine section of the valley which will afford good homes for hundreds of the saints of God. Visited quite a number of Mexican Plazes (villages). These Plazes are something like common forts built by the Americans on the frontier. They are most frequently

Stake, in *Conference Report: The Seventy-third Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, April 1903, 67; also Carleton Q. Anderson, Betty Shawcroft, and Robert Compton, eds., *The Mormons: One Hundred Years in the San Luis Valley of Colorado, 1883-1983* (Lajara stake, 1984).

¹⁶ Twenty-nine-year-old James William Bean was born in 1853 in Provo, Utah. He married Olive Smoot (1860-1943) in 1876; was set apart for his mission on 12 June 1882 by Apostle Joseph F. Smith; and married Pauline Emelie Hardy (1857-1946) in 1884. He died in 1941 in Teton, Idaho.

¹⁷ Otto Edward William Thorwald Christensen served as a counselor to Smith from 1883 through 1894. He was born in 1841 in Copenhagen, Denmark. He married Marianne Christensen (1840-1905) in 1861 in Fairview, Utah; Maren Annette Christensen (1846-1921) in 1865 in Salt Lake City; and Wilhelmine Severine Pauline Petersen (1856-1942) in 1879 in Manti, Utah. He died in 1895 in Manassa, Colorado.

built in the form of a letter E. All the windows and doors <are> open on the inside of the inclosure — occasionally however you see a kind of port hole on the out side. The houses are low structures with flat dirt roofs, which however, are adequate to turn all rains this country is subjected to (as their climate is emphatically a dry one). A number of these Plazes built together are called Pueblos — The women on seeing a stranger approach all run into their houses so as not to be seen.

Their baking ovens are made out in the door yard, and if you cut an egg in two then half of it set up on end with curved side up ○ you have their form. These bake ovens and houses are made of sun dried bricks called adobes.

Generally they are Catholics in their faith. As we passed one large field we noticed a very large cross erected in the middle of it, where multitudes of Mexican Catholics come to do penance — that is those who sinned came here to punish themselves for sinning by binding heavy burdens on themselves and carrying them about untill they would sometimes fall from exhaustion. [I]n this and various other ways would they strive to appease the supposed anger of <their> God at the dictum of the priest. After a very pleasant trip during the forenoon we stoped to talk at a son's of C[aptain] Elledge who lives some eight miles or more from Manassa. I ascended a high hill close to his house from which I could get a fine view of the whole valley. It is the largest and best watered valley I have seen in the mountains, is best situated for irrigating purposes, and has a black gravelly loam — which is strong yielding an abundance of grain and vegetables. If the climate proves good it will be the grandest valley in the mountains.

Spent the evening receiving instruction from Elder M[organ] about my labors in the South, and in writing letters for him as he was unwell. Stayed all night [at] [B]ro. Elledge's.

[April 10, 1883] We were taken from Manassa to a new settlement the Saints are just commencing called "Richfield." This place to my mind will be one of the most desirable in San Luis Valley and I believe the county seat of Conjose. Captain Elledge drove us out to R[ichfield.] We preached to the people in that place. Elder Brown, [blank in the original], and myself occupied the time. I spoke on the principle of Obedience.

At 4-40 we bid our kind friends an adieu and started for Pueblo. Elders Brown and Bean will remain in this valley to preach the Gospel to the Saints. Arrived in Pueblo[, Colorado,]¹⁸ about 1 o'clock at night and put up at the hotel.

[April 12-14, 1883] This morning we viewed the City of Pueblo[, Colorado] — a Mexican word meaning collection of Plazes (villages). This city is over 100 years old, and was founded by some Catholic priests who came to preach to the natives. Made the acquaintance of the Sup[erintenden]t of [the] Leadville Division of [the] D[enver] & R[io] G[rande] R[ailwa]y — Mr. Bancroft. [A]lso met Mr. F. C. Mims G[eneral] P[assenger] Ag[en]t of same road, and a number of other gentlemen.

In the afternoon Pres. Morgan & myself went up to the D[enver] & R[io] G[rande] R[ailwa]y one hundred miles to meet at Salida[, Colorado,]¹⁹ a party of 25 Elders on their way to [the] S[outhern] S[tates] Mission. The offices of the road gave us free transportation over their road. ~~Met the Eld~~ We passed through the Grand Royal Gorge, which is one of the most stupendus sights I ever beheld. It has the appearance of a huge rent in the mountain chain, and looks as if the throes of nature had over done themselves in rending things apart. As we passed along I thought these things were done + these rents and fissures made during the time that the Son of Man was suffering on the cross and lying in his tomb. We met the Elder's about 11 o'clock at night. Many of the brethren knew me personally, and were extremely glad to see me.

After making all necessary arrangements in our journey Pres. M[organ] boarded a West Bound train, and started for his home. He has labored faithfully [in] the S[outhern] S[tates] Mission for eight years, and now the prospect is that he will have a rest for a season. He has endured many dangers from mobs, has labored hard for the spread of truth, and in all things been true. When he left me to pursue my journey with the rest of the brethren I felt like saying Go, Dear Brother, and rest thee awhile in thy Mountain home, where mobs will not disturb thy night's repose; rest there awhile, in the midsts of the Saints of God untill the time shall come for thee to again go forth to proclaim the Gospel in the midst of the wicked.

¹⁸ Approximately 100 miles northeast of Manassa.

¹⁹ Salida is approximately eighty-five miles north of La Jara.

We had a prosperous journey to Chattanooga[, Tennessee,]²⁰ where we arrived 8-P.M. on the night of the 14[th of] Apr[il].

[April 15, 1883] Spent the day in appointing the Elders to their various fields of labor and in counseling with them relative to their labors. A number of them started that night for their fields of labor. There was a good feeling among the young brethren. All manifested a willingness to go where ever they were desired to go, and expressed a determination to fill their missions honorably.

[April 16, 1883] All the Elders left this morning for the various places assigned them excepting those who were going to V[irgini]a. Myself and Elder [Nathaniel W.] Haws²¹ accompanied these brethren to the summit of Look Out Mountain, from which we could see two other battlefields, Missionary Ridge, and Chicamaunga, where thousands fell in defense of their respective causes: — verily, the words of the Prophet Joseph has been fulfilled, where in he said that the War of the Rebellion would “end in the death and misery of many souls.” We had our photographs taken in a groupe, I sent a copy to my wife some time afterwards. These Brethren left on the ~~morning~~ eve[n]ing train for V[irgini]a. I must here speak of the acquaintance I made with Elder [J] Golden Kimball,²² son of H[eber]

²⁰ Chattanooga is in the southeastern part of Tennessee on the border with Georgia, 125 miles southeast of Nashville. President Morgan had moved the mission headquarters to Chattanooga from Nashville the previous year and Roberts continued to maintain a modest, one-room office and living space there. In 1899 the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles would consider relocating the mission headquarters to Cincinnati in order to move the office outside of the South altogether, but no change was ultimately made. Roberts and his secretary, J. Golden Kimball, commented on the level of prejudice against Mormons in Chattanooga. See Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 139; Gary James Bergera, ed., *The Autobiography of B. H. Roberts* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 159-60; Stan Larson, ed., *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 69.

²¹ Twenty-one-year-old Nathaniel W. Haws was born in 1861 in Logan, Utah. He married Athelia Rose Clayton (1860-?) in March 1882 and was set apart for his mission the next month (10 April 1882) by William W. Taylor of the First Council of Seventy. He died in 1930 in Logan.

²² Thirty-eight-year-old Jonathan Golden Kimball was born in 1854 in Salt Lake City to Apostle Heber C. and Christeen Golden Kimball and was set apart for his mission on 9 April 1883 by Apostle Moses Thatcher. Roberts and Kimball would get to know each other well in the southern states, Kimball serving as Roberts's secretary and later serving with him in the First Council of the Seventy, although in later years there

C. Kimball, counselor to Pres. B[righam] Young. He is a splendid young man anxious to emulate the actions of his noble father, and I pray that God will bless him and help him to accomplish all his heart desires to perform in righteousness.

[April 17-23, 1883] We started this morning for K[entucky] to attend the conference in that state. After a ride on the cars of 394 miles we arrived at Caneyville[, Kentucky]²³ where we were met by Louis Kelsch²⁴ & Bro. J. K. Riese.²⁵ Elder Kelsch was pres. of the K[entucky] conference. From the acquaintance I had with Bro K[elsch,] I believe him to be a good young man, earnest in the cause of Truth, and very humble. We spent a day or two visiting the Saints, and on the afternoon of the 20th [of] Apr[il] our conference commenced. Seven Elders present, but only a few people were present. For minutes in full of this conference, see Scrap Book, Vol. I page 1.

[April 24, 1883] Bidding the saints here farewell, Elder Kelsch, W[alter] G. Paul,²⁶ and myself started to Rockport.²⁷ Elder K[elsch] expected to accompany me to the East Tenn[essee] Conference; and Elder Paul was going to Simpson Co[unty, Kentucky].²⁸ At Rockport we took steamer for Bowling Green K[entucky].²⁹ The captain gave us reduced rates. We found him an Infidel, and it was

would be friction between the two men. Kimball married Jane Smith Knowlton in 1887 and died in 1938 in an automobile accident near Reno, Nevada.

²³ A small town in Grayson County in west-central Kentucky.

²⁴ Twenty-six-year-old Louis A. Kelsch was born in 1856 in Bavaria. He served as a missionary to the southern states, 1882-83; as president of the Northern States Mission, 1896-1901; and as a missionary in Japan, 1901-02. He married Mary Lucretia Lyerla (1872-1944) ca. 1898 in Salt Lake City and died there in 1917.

²⁵ Probably the forty-year-old John Riese who, according to the 1880 census, was living in Webster County, Kentucky, as a servant for the family of G. N. and Louisa Clark of Dixon.

²⁶ Twenty-three-year-old Walter G. Paul was born in Salt Lake City 1859 and was set apart for his mission on 10 April 1882 by Apostle Joseph F. Smith. He married Catherine Salina (Kate) Painter (1862-1934) in 1885 and worked as an undertaker and carpenter in Salt Lake City and Mendon, Utah, and in Rexburg, Idaho. He died in 1941.

²⁷ A small town in Benton County, Tennessee, west of Humphreys County—the county boundary being the Tennessee River.

²⁸ North of Nashville on the Tennessee-Kentucky border.

²⁹ The county seat of Warren County, located in southern Kentucky, northeast of Nashville.

not long before he and Elder K[elsch] commenced a war of words. It was not long before I was engaged also. We found the captain had learned a few pet phrases from the writings of R. G. Ingersoll³⁰ — and this was about the extent of his knowledge either in Science or religion. I was reminded of the words of the poet:

“A little learning is a dangerous thing
“Drink deep, or taste not the perennial [Pierian] Spring.”³¹

During our conversation he drank freely of whiskey, however, and that we suppose kept up his spirits, for we found that:

“E’n though vanquished,
“He could argue still.”³²

While engaged in conversation, the boat struck a raft of logs in the river, which for a while we thought had knocked a hole in the bottom of the boat, but no[t] so: considerable excitement among the passengers.

[April 25, 1883] About noon we arrived in Bowling Green. Took cars to Woodburn[, Kentucky,]³³ where we stopped off to see a [blank in the original].³⁴ He is in the church, but few, if any of [h]is neighbors know it. He is wealthy[,] to[o] wealthy to gather with the Saints, and help build up the Kingdom of God. Is he trying to make God and Mammon shake hands? We stayed all night with him.

[April 26, 1883] We took cars for Franklin, Simpson Co[unty].³⁵ Here we called on a <several> familiyes of Saints by the name of

³⁰ Robert Green Ingersoll (1833-99) was a famous nineteenth-century lawyer, orator, and supporter of Republican political figures. He was thought by many to be an opponent of organized religion. For his part, Ingersoll believed he was an advocate of science and reason. He was an early popularizer of Charles Darwin and a supporter of equal rights for women and Blacks.

³¹ Alexander Pope, “An Essay on Criticism.”

³² Oliver Goldsmith, “Deserted Village,” line 211.

³³ Woodburn is a small town in southwest Warren County between Franklin and Bowling Green.

³⁴ In a letter to his mother, Roberts refers to the man as “judege Wilkerson.” See Roberts to Ann Dustin, 25 April 1883, box 3, folder, 7, Roberts Papers, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah.

³⁵ Franklin is the Simpson County seat.

Hendricks.³⁶ Old sister H[endricks] has been a member of the church for 48 years: she has the spirit of the Gospel too, bears a strong testimony[.] I enjoyed her company: she is 80 years old: her husband is 90; not in the church: last year they celebrated their 60th wedding-day.

“Perish the lover whoes imperfect flame
Forgets one feature of the nymph he loved.”³⁷

[April 27, 1883] Took train for Nashville in the afternoon. Arrived O.K.

[April 28, 1883] Left Nashville at 7-30 A.M. for Lebanon. Here we hired [a] hack to take us to G. P. Huddleston’s where we arrived about one o’clock. Were kindly received by the whole family, especially by Sister Vaughan — who was surely my pupil in the Gospel. Sister [E. J.] Huddleston was exceedingly kind.

The next few days I spent visiting among the Saints. This was my old field of labor, when on my first mission. I had labored diligently among them preaching the Gospel for months; had baptized quite a number of them, and now I was receiving my reward: for who could witness the affection of these people and not feel that he was paid for all the labor required to convince them of the truth? The world may deride them, and consider them unfit for their association, but I love them, with a love that is stronger than death, and they love me, and I am proud of their love. He who fails to win the love of his fellow man, in my opinion has lived in vain.

“Unlamanted pass the proud away
The gaze of fools, the pageant of a day;
So perish all, whoes breasts ne’re learned to glow,
For other’s good, or melt at others’ woe.” —Pope.³⁸

[May 4, 1883] Our conference conveyed, [t]en Elders from Utah present, and a goodly number of Saints, and some strangers: (for full report See Scrap Book Vol I page 4).

³⁶ John T. Hendricks was a farmer living with his wife, Tinotha, in Round Pond, Simpson County. Roberts is correct about their ages. The couple’s forty-six-year-old daughter, Nancy, also lived with them.

³⁷ William Shenstone, (1714-1763), *Elegy XXII*.

³⁸ Alexander Pope, “Memory of an Unfortunate Lady,” 1:4.

[May 8, 1883] We started to visit some of the Saints in Hickman Co[unty], Elders Kelsch & James A. Elderige [Eldredge]³⁹ going with me as far as Nashville. While in Lebanon Dr. R[ichard]. D. Vaughan tried to make arrangements for me to speak on the public square I having promised to do so provided I could get a respectable introduction. At first quite a number of lawyers seemed willing to introduce me, but one after <another> when they saw a stream of public sentiment against me declined. When it was nearly train time[,] a Mr. [Robert] Thompson⁴⁰ representative in the state senate from Wilson Co[unty] said he would give me an introduction, but I should then not have had time to speak but a little while so concluded it would be best not to undertake it. I must speak however in commendable terms of Mr. Vaughn and the efforts he made in my behalf.

[May 9, 1883]⁴¹ Leaving Elders K[elsch] & E[ldredge] I arrived in Hickman Co[unty,] where I was met by Elder Joshua Hawk[e]s,⁴² [John] Gibbs,⁴³ Robert Pierce [Pearce],⁴⁴ & [James A.] Taylor.⁴⁵

³⁹ Twenty-six-year-old James Alanson Eldredge was born in 1857 in Salt Lake City. His mother was Hannah Adams and his father Horace S. Eldredge of the LDS First Council of Seventy. He lived in Davis County where he married Jane Jennings (1856-1926) in 1879 and was superintendent of the Davis stake Sunday schools from 1877 through 1882. He was set apart for his mission on 5 April 1883 by Apostle Francis M. Lyman. After his mission, he pursued a career in business and politics, including a term in the Utah legislature from 1907 through 1909. He died in 1940 in Woods Cross, Utah. Roberts consistently misspelled this name, which will be silently corrected in future references.

⁴⁰ Robert Emmett Thompson (1822-1897) was active in Tennessee politics, serving in the Tennessee House and Senate on various occasions, first as a Whig and after the Civil War as a Democrat. As Roberts notes, he represented Wilson and Smith Counties during this period. Prior to this he served as mayor of Lebanon.

⁴¹ This entry covers the rest of the month of May.

⁴² Forty-six-year-old Joshua Hawkes was born in 1836 in Far West, Missouri. He married Mary Lewis (1839-1920) in 1859 and Sarah Ann Smart (1855-1934) in 1879. He was set apart for his mission on 22 February 1883 by Apostle Wilford Woodruff. He died in 1914 in Logan, Utah.

⁴³ Twenty-nine-year-old John Henry Gibbs was born in 1853 in South Wales. He was set apart on 22 February 1883 by Apostle Joseph F. Smith. He was one of two elders killed in Cane Creek, Tennessee, on 10 August 1884.

⁴⁴ Thirty-one-year-old Robert Brown Pearce was born in 1851 in Cardiff, South Wales; was baptized in 1860; came to Utah with his parents three years later; and married Annie Marie Montierth (1855-1939) in 1872. He was set apart for his mission on 26 February 1883 by Apostle Albert Carrington. Pearce married Nellie Hall in 1908. He died in 1915 in Salt Lake City.

⁴⁵ Thirty-two-year-old James Austin Taylor was born in 1850 in Salt Lake City. He

After spending a few days with the Saints around Shady Grove and holding meeting I accompanied Elder John H. Gibbs on a trip through his field of labor – going via of Nashville. Before going to N[ashville] we stopped at Centerville[,] Co[unty] seat of Hickman Co[unty] and I lectured on the Rights, Politics of the People of Utah. [F]air turn out, and good interest manifest. We visited some families about Waverley⁴⁶ for a few days and from then we took train and Boat for ~~Linden~~ Clifton[,] Wayne Co[unty,] near where our conference was to be held: we arrived on the eve[ning] of 24th May, and went to the house of Bro. Queen's.

Our conference was to be held the next day but met with an interruption as will be seen by minutes of our conference (Scrap-Book Vol. 1 page 5 & 6).

After holding the West Tenn[essee] Conference I made my way through West Tenn[essee] by hack untill I came to the M[emphis] & C[orinth] R[ailwa]y at Dee Corinth[, Mississippi.]⁴⁷ From thence I took train to the City of Memphis.⁴⁸ As we passed through some of [the] boggs and swamps of that region I thought of Elder Woodruff's experience in them[.]⁴⁹ [W]e arrived in M[emphis] about 10-o'clock P.M. I put up at the Peabody Hotel. Next eve[ning] took train for Batesville[,] Miss[issippi],⁵⁰ near which villiage conference was to be held. Put up at the Hall hotel. The next day about noon Elders S[amuel] D. Moore⁵¹ & Jos[eph] Clark⁵² met me.

married Sarah Leonora Boyes (1853-1944) in 1876 and was set apart for his mission on 9 October 1882 by Abraham H. Cannon of the First Council of Seventy. Taylor died in 1934 in Holladay, Utah.

⁴⁶ Waverly is thirty miles northwest of Centerville in Humphreys County, about five miles east of the Tennessee River and fifty miles north of Clifton.

⁴⁷ A small town in northeastern Mississippi just over the border from Tennessee.

⁴⁸ Memphis is in the extreme southeast corner of Tennessee on the Mississippi River and bordering the states of Mississippi and Arkansas.

⁴⁹ Woodruff spent much of 1836 in this area and noted the "Mississippi swamp rising of 100 miles which ... at that time was almost impassable for man or beast in consequence of mud and water." See Journal History, 25 November 1836, LDS church archives.

⁵⁰ A small town approximately fifty miles south of Memphis and the county seat of Penola County.

⁵¹ Twenty-eight-year-old Samuel Drollinger Moore was born in 1855 in Payson, Utah. He married Clara A. Huish (1862-1927) in 1881 in the Salt Lake Endowment House and was set apart for his mission on 9 October 1883 by Apostle Joseph F. Smith. Moore died in 1945 in Spanish Fork, Utah.

⁵² Twenty-nine-year-old Joseph Smith Clark was born in 1854 in Farmington,

Elder Moore is Pres. of the Miss[issippi] Con[ference]. Just before starting away from the hotel, two young lawyers called upon me desiring an interview. We stopped and talked with them about an hour on the political situation in our Territory. They appeared to be fair minded and desired that I should appoint a night to speak in B[atesville.] They offered me the court-house to speak in[,] which I accepted, and appointed the night of June 5 as the time of holding forth. A [Julius] Porter⁵³ was one of the names <of one> of of those who called upon me.

[June 1, 1883] Miss[issippi] Conference commenced with 12 Elders from Utah present, and a few of the Saints. (For full account of this conference see Scrap Book Vol. I page 10). Sunday we had a very interesting time as a large number were present.

[June 4, 1883] Walked 15 mi[les] today to fill my appointment at the Batesville court-house. We had quite a respectable hearing — Mr. Porter was present and gave me an introduction to the people. The other lawyer failed to put in an appearance as he had been frightened by popular opinion:

“O popular applause! What heart of Man
Is proof against thy sweet seducing charms?”⁵⁴

See comments on lecture Scrap Book pages 6 & 7 Vol I.

We returned to the neighborhood where the Saints lived, spent the next few days in visiting them. Some of the Saints here are extremely poor. (Bro. Keath's family.)

[June 10, 1883] Today I preached the funeral sermon of bro. I. T. Hammond. He was a faithful Latter Day Saint and died in the faith. He can look forth to a glorious resurrection. (See letter by S. D. Moore Scrap Book page 16 Vol I.)

Utah, to the prominent family of Ezra T. and Mary Stevenson Clark. Joseph married Lucy Maria Robinson (1856-1941) in 1876 in the Salt Lake Endowment House and was set apart for his mission on 8 June 1882 by Apostle Franklin D. Richards. Clark died in 1957 in Salt Lake City.

⁵³ Julius Porter was a thirty-year-old lawyer living in Batesville, Mississippi.

⁵⁴ William Cowper, *Task*, BII, l. 431.

After speaking at bro. H[ammond]'s funeral Elder W[illia]m Rydalch and myself went through the country about twelve miles to a Mr. Youngbloods where we had an ap[pointmen]t out for that eve[n]ing. Quite a number came out and I occupied the time.

[June 11, 1883] This morning Elder R[ydalch] and myself started for Oxford[, Mississippi].⁵⁵ Mr. Youngblood lent us a horse[,] and Bro. Hamilton Jr. lent us a mule.

The distance was 16 miles. Bro. R[ydalch] is one of the most tender hearted men I ever met — one of these open-hearted people — such as I like. I enjoyed his company very much.

[June 12, 1883] On the morning of the 12[th] I left Oxford to go to Ala[bama] Conference. Went as far as Decatur[, Alabama],⁵⁶ where I determined to await the arrival of two Elders who were going to the Ala[bama] conference, and who would get there the next morning.

I attended service at a church in D[ecatur] and after returning to the hotel wrote the article — A Mother's Influence (Scrap Book Vol. 1 p. 19.)

[June 13, 1883] The two Elders arrived about 5-30 A.M. I saw them get off the train, but did not make myself known to them. Their names are A[ndrew] Israelsen⁵⁷ & O[tto] L. Mahew.⁵⁸ They purchased tickets for Birmingham and took seats in the train which was about to start. I bought a ticket took a seat with them and it was not long before I was engaged in conversation with them passing myself off as a disciple of R. G. Ingersoll. We made it extremely interesting for these brethren as we struck points with which they were not familiar. They explained Mormonism to me gave me tracts etc. etc. After riding 85 miles we arrived at B[irmingham]

⁵⁵ Oxford is in northern Mississippi, southeast of Memphis.

⁵⁶ A small town in the north central part of the state approximately 100 miles east of Oxford.

⁵⁷ Twenty-six-year-old Andrew Martin Israelsen was born in 1857 in Norway. He married M. Boletta Wilson (1863-1952) in 1882 in Salt Lake City and was set apart for his mission on 22 February 1883 by Apostle Joseph F. Smith. He died in 1939 in Hyrum, Utah.

⁵⁸ Forty-six-year-old Otto L. Mahew was born in 1836 in Edinburgh, Scotland. He was set apart for his mission on 29 May 1882 by Apostle Brigham Young Jr. and returned home 20 November 1883.

where I introduced myself to the brethren. Imagine their confusion. Stayed all night in B[irmingham, Alabama].⁵⁹

[June 14, 1883] Went to Springville[, Alabama]⁶⁰ this A.M. while waiting the arrival of Elder [Adelbert] Cazier.⁶¹ I wrote Our Own Rights and the Rights of Others. (Scrap B. p-12, 13) In the afternoon Elders Haws and Cazier came in and I learned of the mobbing of Elder [John] Alexander.⁶² (see scrap B. Vol I p-7, 8, 9, 10 – last my own.)

[June 15, 1883] Conference convined this A.M. for full acc[ount,] see Scrap book Vol 1 p -13 & 14. After this conference I went to Chattanooga where I remained untill the 28[th] June. Spent the time in writing letters etc.⁶³ I read mostly in Harmony of the Bible with science.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Birmingham is seventy-five miles south of Decatur.

⁶⁰ A small town twenty miles east of Birmingham.

⁶¹ Twenty-three-year-old Adelbert Cazier was born in 1860 in Nephi, Utah. He married Mary Ann Parkes (1856-1907) and Elizabeth Grace McCune (1864-1945) on the same day in October 1880. He was set apart for his mission on 4 December 1882 by Daniel H. Wells, a counselor to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Cazier died in 1933.

⁶² In his autobiography, Roberts wrote: "In Georgia also an elder by the name of Alexander was captured by a mob down in the woods, tied to a tree, and shot at by the mob, one bullet piercing the straw hat he wore. Happily he escaped with his life. He came to the Chattanooga headquarters and was sent home in the care of Elder Samuel Parrish of Centerville. The experience of Elder Alexander had so shattered his nerves that it was felt necessary to return him to his home." The missionary was twenty-two-year-old John Thomas Alexander, born in 1861 in Manchester England and set apart for his mission on 9 April 1883 by Seymour B. Young of the First Council of Seventy. He served two months and returned home to Salt Lake City to marry Camila Josephine Schoenfeld (1860-1942) before the month was out (28 June 1883). Alexander died in Salt Lake City in 1930. See *Autobiography*, 156; entries in this diary for 27, 28 June 1883.

⁶³ Roberts writes that he and his companions had been very cautious "on account of the great amount of prejudice existing here; and the threats which have been made of mobbing." Roberts to Ann Dustin, 25 June 1883, box 3, folder 7, Roberts Papers.

⁶⁴ Samuel Kinns, *The Harmony of the Bible with Science: Or Moses and Geology* (New York: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1882). Kinns (1826-1903) was an Anglican minister who argued for the harmony between science and the Genesis account of creation. He was a popular lecturer at the British Museum and London churches and clearly made an impression on Roberts, who quoted from him in a discourse at the Salt Lake Tabernacle 13 March 1910, later published as "Mormonism as a Body of Doctrine." See B. H. Roberts, *Defense of the Faith and the Saints*, vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1912), 491-516.

[June 27, 1883] Today while sitting on the varanda was surprised to see Elder S[amuel] J. Parrish⁶⁵ walk up. He had just returned from home having taken Elder [John] Alexander to his home, and after spending two weeks with his family he has taken his life in his hand and returned to his field of labor. Quite a study for the Christian ministers and people who are thirsting for the blood of these zealous young Elders who are striving to teach them the truth.

We spent the day very agreeably, as also the day following — reading, writing, etc. etc.

[June 28, 1883] Today at 8 A.M. Elder P[arrish] and myself left Elder [Nathaniel] Haws, and started for G[eorgi]a. We arrived there 11-15 A.M. We met Elder O[rson] M. Wilson,⁶⁶ the Elder who was Bro. Alexander's companion. We hired conveyance to Haywood Valley, [Tennessee,]⁶⁷ where we arrived just before sundown. Stayed all night with a Bro. <John> Barber[,] a convert of Pres. J[ohn] Morgan's. He is a pleasant agreeable young man, has been ordained an Elder, and is a fair speaker. There are five families of Saints in this valley.

[June 30, 1883] At 8 A.M. we met the Elders six in number in Priesthood meeting. The Elders present were S. J. Parrish, O. M. Wilson, J[ohn] A. Mower,⁶⁸ W[illia]m H. Kirby,⁶⁹ W[illia]m F. Rigby,⁷⁰ [and]

⁶⁵ Twenty-eight-year-old Samuel Joel Parrish was a friend of Roberts's from Centerville, Utah. Parrish was born in Centerville in 1855, married Martha Caroline Rich (1859-1937) in 1879, and was set apart for his mission on 9 October 1882 by Apostle Erastus Snow. Parrish died in Centerville in 1935.

⁶⁶ Twenty-four-year-old Orson Moroni Wilson was born in 1858 in Ogden, Utah. He was set apart for his mission on 22 December 1882 by Apostle Joseph F. Smith. The same day he returned home—25 November 1885—he married Elizabeth Jensen (1862-?). Wilson died in 1945.

⁶⁷ In Hamilton County near Chattanooga.

⁶⁸ Thirty-four-year-old John Albert Mower was born in 1848 in Council Bluffs, Iowa. He married Sarah Matilda Brady (1852-1922) in 1867 in Salt Lake City and Frances Ann Richards (1859-1946) in 1877 in St. George, Utah. He was set apart for his mission on 9 April 1883 by Apostle George Teasdale. In 1891 and 1892, he served two terms in the Utah Territorial Prison, one for adultery and another for unlawful cohabitation. He died in 1894 in Sanpete County.

⁶⁹ Twenty-six-year-old William Henry Kirby was born in 1856 in Manti, Utah. He married Emmaline Malissa Crowther (1862-1917) in 1879 and was set apart for his mission on 9 April 1883 by Apostle Moses Thatcher. He died in 1910 in Sanford, Colorado.

⁷⁰ Twenty-three-year-old William F. Rigby Jr. was born in 1859 in Lehi, Utah. He

S[amuel] Echols⁷¹: we heard reports of the Elders, which were not very flattering to the accomplishing of very much more good in the old fields of labor.

[July 1, 1883] During the night some parties took a horse belonging to a bro. Ganus,⁷² from the stable of bro. John Barber and cut or rather hacked off his mane and tail.

On going to the school house we found a large notice stuck on a tree warning us to leave by nine o'clock that P.M. (see Scrap book page last for Original notice signed K.K.K.)

We held Priesthood meeting this A.M. (at 8 A.M.), and instructed the brethren in there duties.

For minutes of General Conference for this State see scrap book page __ Vol. I.

As we had received notice about the K.K.[K.] coming our friends gathered together bringing arms with them. The house of Bro. Barber was a very open one, and made of thin boards: as he had a large family of children and his wife was rather timid[,] we Elders thought best to go into the woods, and then if our enemies did come upon us[,] there would be no women or children mixed up in the affray. We took some quilts with us in to the thicket, and I stood guard until nearly 2 o'clock while the rest of the brethren slept. Some of [them] were armed and determined not to allow our enemies [to] do us any injury. Bro. J[oseph] Standing⁷³ had been murdered in this state a few years ago, some four weeks previous Elder Alexander had been nearly killed, and we expected to say to these mobbers "Hands off gentlemen if you please." At two o'clock I woke Elder Parrish up and he stood guard the rest of the night, but

married Sarah Angelen Clarke (1861-1919) in 1881, was set apart for his mission on 26 February 1883 by Apostle John Henry Smith, and died in 1907 in Cache Junction, Utah.

⁷¹ Twenty-seven-year-old Samuel Echols was born in 1856 in Alabama. He married Mary Minerva Vincent (1860-1918) in 1880, although they later divorced. Echols was set apart for his mission on 13 January 1883. He married Armintha Missouri Lee (1863-1919) in October 1884 in Logan, Utah. In 1919 he married Letha Bella Knight (1860-?) in Graham, Arizona. Echols died in 1929 in Pima, Arizona.

⁷² Three Ganus families settled in the Mormon colonies in Colorado. It is unclear which, if any, of these Brother Ganuses is implied.

⁷³ Joseph Standing was shot to death by a mob in the vicinity of Varnell's Station, Georgia, 21 July 1879. Three suspects were arrested, but despite testimony from Standing's missionary companion, Rudger Clawson, the suspects were acquitted.

we were unmolested. Th[r]ough some of the Saints among them a Bro. J. Manning said they knew that part of the mob gathered but their hearts failed them.

[July 2, 1883] Early this morning Bros. J[ohn] <Barber> and Walter Smith fixed up a team and drove us some eight miles towards a Brother Allens & Mannings. Bidding Brother Barber goodbye and taking leave of Elder Mower and Kirby who started for their fields of labor the rest of us went to brother Allen's where we stayed the remainder of the day and all night. On the way to bro. A[llen]'s I was nearly overpowered a time or two with the excessive heat.

[July 3, 1883] Walked from bro. Allen's to bro. Manning's whoes family as well as himself was converted to the truth by Elder Morgan. Spent the day very pleasantly there: and at night the family was called together and I preached to them.

[July 4, 1883] Went to Rome[, Georgia,]⁷⁴ today[,] a distance of some six miles, where we visited the places of interest — the cemetry etc. A very quiet day for the 4th.

[July 5, 1883] Took cars for Senoia, Polk County⁷⁵ where we have a family of saints and several families of Saints. The Elders who passed through here a day or two before us (Elders Mower & Kirby) gave out an ap[pointmen]t for us and at 8-30 P.M. quite an audience had gathered under the trees in front of the house of a bro. Mitchell's. Lanterns were hung up in the trees, and we had the novel privelege of preaching in the woods at night.

[July 6, 1883] Very early this morning we started on a journey of 15 miles to the home of a bro. Ganus, where we arrived at about 12 [noon]. In the afternoon we had a splendid bath. Preached in the eve[ning] to a few who gathered in.

[July 7, 1883] Stayed all day at bro. Ganus' writing letters studying Scripture etc.

[July 8, 1883] This morning we rode some 7 miles to a church which

⁷⁴ The Floyd County seat located in the northwest corner of the state.

⁷⁵ Another county in northwestern Georgia.

some Elders had built two or three years ago. Quite a number gathered in, and I spoke to them on the principles of the Gospel. There were several who believed my words, and I think some of them will obey the Gospel. From this point we continued our journey to a Bro. Hamels' going via of Buchanan the co[unty] seat of Haralston.⁷⁶ At this place lives a bro. Williams whose team had been sent to meet us where we held meeting. He met us where we held meeting. We took supper with him, and as we had some seven miles to go he let the Elders who are going to remain in this field, Eld[er] Echols and W[illiam] Rigby, drive us four miles on our way to the house of a bro. Bigger. Stopping here a few minutes to take a few minutes to the Saints we continued our journey on foot after bidding Elders E[chols] & R[igby] good bye. We gave them special charge to put away all lightmindedness and to be in earnest in spreading the truth. Bro. Bigger went with us to bro. Hams, and carried my heavy valise for me. We told the people on our way that we would preach at Bro. Hamel's so that in the evening we had a good congregation, and I spoke on the organization of the Church.

[July 9, 1883] At Three o'clock bro. Hamel awoke me as he was going to take me in his carriage to the depot at Temple⁷⁷ on my way to Atlanta. I parted with Bro. Parrish with whom I had spent about two weeks, and as he was an old friend of mine, we have had a very agreeable time together. Also took leave of Elders Mower, Kirby, and Wilson. The ride to Temple in the early morning air was quite refreshing. At Temple Bro. Hamel took me to the eating house and gave me my breakfast. At 6-20 boarded train for Atlanta where we arrived about 10-30; put up at the Markham House. Spent the day in viewing the city, visiting the capitol — and other places of interest. Wrote several letters, and retired to bed weary enough not to rest good.

[July 10, 1883] At 4-20 took train for S[outh] C[arolina], Whitakers station⁷⁸ distance 225 miles.] In the Afternoon was joined by Elder

⁷⁶ Approximately fifty miles west of Atlanta.

⁷⁷ A small town in Carroll County forty miles west of Atlanta.

⁷⁸ Located in the northwest corner of the state.

[John] Easton⁷⁹ and [Joseph] Willey.⁸⁰ Spent the next several days in and around Whitaker.

[July 13, 1883] Today our conference in S[outh] C[arolina] was commenced. At the close of the afternoon meeting all the Elders present at Conference with several of the local brethren accompanied us to the monument erected on King's Mountain in honor of a battle fought there during the Revolutionary War — Oct. 7[th] 1780.⁸¹ We read the history of the conflict on the monument from which point we could see the ground over which the conflicting parties passed. Just before the sun set at the request of the brethren I addressed them from the steps of the monument. Spoke of the struggle of the Revolutionary Fathers for their liberties, and how the God of Heaven blessed their labors. We were now standing on the very battle field where the fortunes of war turned in favor of the American's favor — so claimed by all historians. Spoke of this land being a favored land, the home of the seed of Joseph. God designs all those who live upon it shall be free. Those who now administered the laws were taking up [the] ax to hew down the tree of liberty which had been planted by patriots and watered by their tears and blood; but we are contending for those same sacred principles of justice and liberty for which those patriots who fell upon this battle <field> were contending for. When all men shall trample upon the sacred principles of Constitutional liberty, and that instrument which we believe to be the result of inspiration, the Elders of Israel shall stand up in the defense of the sacred rights of man, and rescue those rights from the hands of those who would snatch them from man. Told the Elders to be of good cheer, as they were patriots — fighting in the same great cause though not with carnal weapons — God eventually give us the victory. Our conference continued

⁷⁹ Thirty-two-year-old John Miller Easton was born in 1850 in St. Louis, Missouri. He married Elizabeth Hurst (1854-?) in 1875 and was set apart for his mission on 24 October 1881 by Apostle Wilford Woodruff. He died in 1905.

⁸⁰ Twenty-four-year-old Joseph Willey was born in 1859 in East Bountiful, Utah. He was set apart for his mission on 9 April 1883 by Apostle Frances M. Lyman. He married Amy Maude Thurgood (1866-1941) in 1885 in Logan, Utah, and died in 1943.

⁸¹ Colonial troops handed the British a significant defeat here. In an hour-long battle, the Americans suffered twenty-eight killed and sixty-two wounded while the British losses under Major Patrick Ferguson were 225 killed, 163 wounded, and 716 captured.

through the 14 & 15 of July at which much good instruction and council was given. For full account - see scrap Book Vol I Page ____.

[July 14, 1883] On the morning of the 14[th] while in counsel with the Elders traveling in the S[outh] C[arolina] Conference, I was telling them the manner in which Satan would strive to hinder them in their work of preaching the Gospel, and what great power he possessed, when I was attacked by an unseen power, and nearly overcome; I managed, however, to keep my feet, and continued my remarks. I was smitten twice afterwards the same morning[,] but through the mercies of God was not over powered, for which I am thankful to my father in Heaven: I trust he will ever shield me from his power, and if in God's great wisdom he can see there is a time that I would become a Servant to the Powers of Darkness, I pray that he will take me to Himself before I shall live to see that day.

[July 16, 1883] Accompanied Elder J. M. Easton to Whitaker where I received letters from Elder Haws, Pres. Morgan, Elders S. D. Moore, & Pearce. Elder Moore reports prospects fair in Miss[is-sippi]. The cholera is only 14 mi[les] from some of our Elders. We wrote them if they deemed it wisdom to leave that locality in consequence of that dreadful disease to do so.

Robert Pearce's family was unwell[. Elder Pearce] had concluded to return home, and inquired best route etc: we sent him the required directions. Pres. M[organ] directed me to release Elder A. N. Hill⁸² of S[alt] L[ake] C[ity]. Bro. H[ill] when he came to Chattanooga in the early part of the month of May was under the influence of liquor. Elder Haws and [Reynolds] Crump⁸³ expostulated with him on taking such a course, and he promised to do better; but a very few minutes after making the promise he stepped into a bar room and took a drink. He left for a field of labor in N[orth]

⁸² Twenty-five-year-old Archibald Newell Hill was born in 1857 in Salt Lake City. He was set apart for his mission on 9 April 1883 by Seymour B. Young of the First Council of Seventy. As this diary entry suggests, it seems that Hill returned home about three months after he was set apart and less than a month from the time he arrived in the mission.

⁸³ Nineteen-year-old Reynolds A. Crump was born in 1863 in Herriman, Utah. He was set apart for his mission on 9 April 1883 by Apostle Lorenzo Snow and married Mary Ann Farmer (1868-1942) a few days later on 23 April 1883. He died in 1947 in Rock Springs, Wyoming.

C[arolina] going to release a bro. J[ohn] H. Barlow⁸⁴ of Bountiful,⁸⁵ but he failed to make his appearance or report himself any where. Letters were received from his home from which we learned his friends had not heard from him, and of course were anxious for his safety. In this letter, however, from Pres. M[organ,] we learn that he is in Petersburg[,] V[irgini]a[,] that he had lost his hat, coat, and valiese. He had telegraphed home for money, and thus his whereabouts were learned. I wrote him at Petersburg V[irgini]a that his services were no longer needed in the Southern Mission.

[July 17, 1883] This morning Elder J. M. Easton [and I] left Whitaker walked 7 mi[les] to Bro. Nelson Gordon[']s⁸⁶ where in the afternoon we all took a bath. In the eve[ning] walked five miles to the house of a Mr. Ferris where we held meeting. Only a few came out to hear us, but I bore a faithful testimony to those who came out.

Tonight I had several dreams: one was: I thought I was going up the main street of some large city. Pres. M[organ] was with me, and I told him to wait a minute and I would get some nuts. I went back the way we had come from, and soon returned with a basket with some nuts in it. When I arrived at where Pres. M[organ] was sitting I found he had a basket with some nuts in also, I laughed at this, and he made some pleasant remarks and put his nuts into my basket. I then awoke. The next few days I continued visiting among the saints in & friends in this field of labor — studying the scriptures, teaching the Saints their duty etc etc.

[July 22, 1883] We held meeting today in the grove near Mr. [James M.] Rippy's house — before meeting we had the pleasure of attending to the baptism of Mr. & Mrs. Weaver.⁸⁷ A goodly number was present. I occupied the time and the people were much interested,

⁸⁴ Thirty-four-year-old John Haven Barlow was born in 1848 while his parents, Israel and Elizabeth Haven Barlow, were immigrating to Utah. John married Elizabeth Cook (1849-1922) in 1868, was set apart for his mission on 10 October 1881 by Apostle John Henry Smith, and died in 1922 in Salt Lake City.

⁸⁵ A town in Davis County close to Roberts's home in Centerville.

⁸⁶ Nelson Gordon was a forty-three-year-old farmer living in York County with his wife, M. J., and their five children.

⁸⁷ John W. Weaver was a thirty-nine-year-old laborer living in York County with his thirty-eight-year-old wife Sarah, their two children, and four hired hands.

although I could see that many set their hearts against the truth as hatred deep and hearty was pictured on their faces. While preaching the Spirit brought a new argument in my mind while speaking of Preaching to the Spirits in prison: 1st statement, No other name is given under heaven (the name of Jesus) where by mankind can be saved, man must be saved through faith in his name. But what hundreds of millions have gone into the Spirit world without ever hearing of Jesus. ~~"How shall they hear without a preacher.~~ How shall they believe on him of whom they have not heard, how shall they hear with out a preacher, how shall they preach except they be sent etc. Stayed all night with bro Smith in Whitker. Went to the Baptist service in W[hitaker] in the eve[ning]. They have held meeting for three days and now called for mourners.⁸⁸

[July 23, 1883] About noon I bid Elders Easton and [John] Davidson⁸⁹ farewell as I started for the N[orth] C[arolina] conference. Arrived at Greensboro about dark and stayed all night at the Macadoo [McAdoo] hotel. I was feeling exceedingly well and wrote to my wife and mother.⁹⁰

[July 24, 1883] Today is the date on which the pioneers entered Salt Lake Valley 36 years ago. How varied ones life is! Last year I was at home with my friends and family in Centerville, and in the celebration which took <place> I was the orator of the occasion. We had a fine time in the P.M. also and in the eve[ning] a party which I enjoyed extremely well — to day I am 2600 miles from home with the responsibility of preaching the Gospel upon me. O Lord give me wisdom and strength that I may discharge the duties of my calling.

⁸⁸ In some revivalist churches, this term describes one who publicly professes penitence.

⁸⁹ Thirty-year-old John McNeil Davidson was born in 1852 in Scotland. He married Harriet Ann Holden (1854-1912) in 1875 and was set apart for his mission on 23 February 1883 in Ogden, Utah, by Apostle Moses Thatcher. He died in 1912 in Oregon.

⁹⁰ Roberts tells his mother that the "work in the South goes steadily on, and I believe we shall yet accomplish a greater amount of good than we have yet accomplished. I know you would be pleased if you could attend our meetings we hold in the woods." He commented that he supposed she "will meet with all your children except that truant boy of yours. You've had a rather hard time with him. I wonder where his feet will wander to yet? Who can tell?" See letter to Ann Dustin, 24 July 1883, box 3, folder 7, Roberts Papers.

As I had a pass over the Pied Mont R[ailwa]y which ran to Raleigh the capital of N[orth] C[arolina] I resolved to visit the city. Arrived there about 12 [noon]. Went up town but I had not much time to take in the sights, as my train would soon go back, and I had not the time to stay all night. I was some what disappointed, however, the appearance of that part I did see, as the buildings have a shabby appearance, and every thing is on the old style.

I wander around town untill I had to hurry to catch the train. In my haste to catch the train I took some one elses duster for my own. One duster was about a good as another, but my r[ailwa]y cap was in one of my pockets and map of N[orth] C[arolina] in another. The only thing I got in the pockets of the one I got was a bottle of Jamaica ginger. Arrived in G[reensboro, North Carolina,] in time to take train at Winston[, North Carolina,] at 10 P.M. Stayed all night at Merchant's hotel.

[July 25, 1883] Made an effort to get passage on the mail [train] back to Mt. Airy,⁹¹ but failed as it was crowded: had to stop over there fore at W[inston] untill next day. This day was lost. I read a novel called Morton House⁹² and it took me all day to finish it. I bitterly regrett being so thoughtless as to spend my precious time in reading such worthless trash.

Attended church in the eve[n]ing[.]

[July 26, 1883] Early this morning we took passage for Mt. Airy. We had on board 1 Methodist preacher, a tobacco merchant, one lady, and after making about half the journey were joined by another Parson. Religion was not one of the topics of conversation. We reached Mt. Airy about sundown. I put up at the Central hotel, and attended a night session of the Methodist conference.

[July 27, 1883] It was with considerable difficulty that I found where our conference would be held. I secured a conveyance and made my way to Holly Grove church — found the Elders staying at the house of a brother Haights. Conference convened, but owing to

⁹¹ A small town thirty-five miles south of Winston.

⁹² *Morton House* was written by North Carolina native Frances C. Fisher and published in serialized form in 1871 in *Appleton's Journal of Popular Literature, Science, and Art*.

several blunders which I have made of late, was not feeling so well in spirit. This feeling gradually wore away, however, and as I commenced speaking to the people on the principles of the Gospel – the Spirit of God came to my assistance and my tongue was loosened. O, how long suffering and kind our Father is! Well may David say, “I will praise him for his loving kindness, for his mercy endureth for ever.” Another writer [William Cowper] has said: “Man may dismiss compassion from his heart, But God will never.”⁹³

I trust that some day, I shall overcome all my weakness, not give way to every temptation to do evil that comes in my way though with my impetuous nature – it is difficult to over come. For full account of N[orth] C[arolina] conference see Scrap book Vol 1 - p.18.

[July 30, 1883] This morning at 8 A.M. I met with the Elders in council. I endeavored to instruct the Elders in their duties, and show unto them the responsibility of the same, and impress them with the true dignity of their callings. We had a most interesting conversation, our council lasting untill after one o'clock. Many doctrinal points were brought up and settled to the satisfaction of the brethren.

In the after-noon we all went some fifteen miles down the country to a Bro. Culler's, who lives about a mile from Pilot M[ountain]⁹⁴ – we intended visiting the Mt. early next morning. A few neighbors being gathered in[,] bro. C[uller] desired us to hold service to which we consented. I witnessed the opening service, and called on Elder [James] Jenkins⁹⁵ to speak – what took place during the next hour I am unable to say as I was so nearly worn out with my labors, so foot sore and weary with my journey of 15 miles since 2 o'clock, that I went to sleep, and the first I was aware of was that Elder Jenkins was shaking me to wake me up – as he had finished speaking and wanted to know what next.

[July 31, 1883] This morning we all went to the summit of Pilot M[ountain] – 13 of us Elders and bro. Culler. We spent some time

⁹³ William Cowper, *Task VI*, 1784, line 442.

⁹⁴ Approximately twenty-four miles northwest of Winston.

⁹⁵ Thirty-nine-year-old James Jenkins Jr. was born in 1843 in Wales. He married Margaret Grace (1847-1906) in 1866 in Salt Lake City and was set apart for his mission on 17 September 1881 by Apostle George Q. Cannon. He died in 1904 in Nephi, Utah.

enjoying the beautiful scenery spread out before us, and then we sang several hymns. I engaged in prayer and was blessed with the spirit there of. We had a very enjoyable time. About ten o'clock we descended the m[ountain] at the foot of which four of the brethren left us to go to their fields of labor in the Western part of the state — Elders [William] White,⁹⁶ [Christian] Christensen,⁹⁷ [Alexander] Bills⁹⁸ & [Erastus] Farmer.⁹⁹ The rest of us returned to bro. Culler's where we found a good dinner awaiting us. Pilot M[ountain] is 1551 feet above the level of Grassey Creek which runs part way around its base. It is not connected to any m[ountain] range, but rises in the midst of a broken plain to the height given above. This afternoon I bid adieu to the Elders and went to Mt. Airy where I remained all night: received letter from my wife, she was quite well.

[August 1, 1883] This morning I took stage for Winston enroute for V[irgini]a. conference. Met the tobacco dealer with whom I had made the journey from W[inston] — his name is Rouche. We had a very interesting conversation as to our people, polygamy etc.

We passed over War Hill,¹⁰⁰ stoping at the post-office there. I asked the P[ost] O[ffice] Master why it was called War Hill. He colored up — and then in a stammering way told me that there used to be a saloon there and as there was so much fighting there he supposed it received its name from that — he then winked at a man

⁹⁶ Thirty-four-year-old William Henry White was born in 1849 in Maryland. He married Annie Riley (1851-1923) in 1870 in Salt Lake City and was set apart for his mission on 24 October 1881 by Apostle Joseph F. Smith. He died in 1915.

⁹⁷ Thirty-eight-year-old Christian Franklin Christensen was born in 1844 in Panquitch, Utah. He was set apart for his mission on 10 May 1883 by Apostle Joseph F. Smith. He married Clara Adelia Kimball (1866-1939) in 1886 in St. George, Utah, and died in 1940 in Salt Lake City.

⁹⁸ Twenty-five-year-old Alexander Bills was born in 1857 in South Cottonwood, Utah. He married Emily B. Beckstead (1859-1937) in 1875 and Rachel C. Neel (1860-1932) in 1880 and was set apart for his mission on 9 October 1882 by Horace S. Eldridge of the First Council of Seventy. He served a term from 20 September 1887 to 20 February 1888 in the Utah Territorial Prison for unlawful cohabitation and was fined \$100. In 1901 he married Hattie M. McMartin (1873-1942). He died in 1930 in Mapleton, Utah.

⁹⁹ Twenty-two-year-old Erastus Grenig Farmer was born in 1861 in Nebraska. He was set apart for his mission on 4 April 1883 by William W. Taylor of the First Council of Seventy. He married Mary Ellen Holt (1867-1941) in 1887 and died in 1937 in Logan, Utah.

¹⁰⁰ "War Hill" was a nickname for Boone's Hill in northwest North Carolina, named after Daniel Boone who lived in the Yadkin Valley from 1750 to about 1775.

standing by, as much as to say, don't give me away — he knew very well that the name was not given to the place for the reason he gave, but I had not time to talk with him about it as the stage started just as he finished his story. The place, received the name from a very noted debate which occurred many years ago between Elder J[edediah] M. Grant¹⁰¹ and eight so called orthodox preachers — to the entire satisfaction of all lovers of truth. Elder Grant was victorious.¹⁰²

On the way to Greensboro I over took Elder Amos [Amos] Cook¹⁰³ and Cha[rle]s Ostler¹⁰⁴ who were riding in a tobacco wagon. We all reached Winston about the same time, and together took train for G[reensboro] where we arrived just as the day died out of the sky. We separated here, as the brethren had to wait all night for the train, and mine went straight through for Richmond[, Virginia].

[August 2, 1883] This morning about daylight we approached the noted city of the South — Richmond. The city is located on the

¹⁰¹ Jedediah Morgan Grant (1816-56) was set apart as one of the First Seven Presidents of Seventy in 1845 and preached throughout North Carolina in 1848 as the first LDS missionary in that state. Grant became an apostle and counselor to church president Brigham Young in 1854. See Andrew Jenson, Assistant Church Historian, *Conference Report: The Ninety-fifth Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, April 1925, 107.

¹⁰² Mission president John Morgan tells that Grant agreed to debate a minister at Boone's Hill Church in North Carolina. When Grant arrived, he found that the event had been moved outdoors to accommodate the crowd and that he would be debating eight ministers instead of one. But Grant held his own through four days of debate, according to Morgan. As a sign of how frustrated one of the ministers became, he left his hat and Bible on the stand at the conclusion of the debates. In Utah, Grant would become known as a hellfire speaker of some talent—the one responsible for the so-called Mormon Reformation. See John Morgan, "War Hill," in *A String of Pearls: Second Book of the Faith-Promoting Series Designed for the Instruction and Encouragement of Young Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1880), 50-52; Gene A. Sessions, *Mormon Thunder: A Documentary History of Jedediah Morgan Grant* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1982).

¹⁰³ Twenty-nine-year-old Amos Cook was born in Salt Lake City in 1854, married Mary Frances Peel (1855-1937) in 1875 and Emma Adalade Wood (1862-1948) in 1881, and was set apart for his mission on 9 April 1883 in Bountiful, Utah, by Jacob Gates of the First Council of Seventy. Cook died in 1938 in Salt Lake City.

¹⁰⁴ Eighteen-year-old Charles Prince Ostler was born in 1865 in Nephi, Utah. He was set apart for his mission on 4 December 1882 by Daniel H. Wells, a counselor to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. He married Harriet Rowena Stringham (1867-1900) in 1892 and Ann Eliza Gledhill (1869-1928) in about 1900. Charles died in 1929 in Salt Lake City.

James River, the ground slopes upward from the river to quite an elevation a short distance from the bank: it is upon this slope that the city is located, contains about seventy seven thousand population. It is important both as a commercial center, and manufacturing establishments.

I took breakfast at the Markham hotel, after which I visited the market place — this very much reminded me of my early life in England, and the scenes all appeared familiar to me. From this place I visited the capitol. The building is a substantial one, though not so imposing or grand as the one at Nashville. The legislature halls are small, and only indifferently furnished. In the hall that leads to these apartments one comes face to face with a life sized statue of Gen. Washington. One could very readily imagine that he had met the venerable old patriot and citizen in one of his morning walks in the grounds of Mt. Vernon. A fine bust of LaFayette standing in a niche is near Washington.

The grounds of the capitol are kept in fine condition [and] in front of but a little to the right of, the main entrance, is a fine collection of statuary. On a massive basement which is some fifteen or twenty feet high stands the Equestrian statue of Gen. Washington. Around the base on which the above statue stands the following names [are] represented in Bronze statues. [Meriwether] Lewis the back-wood's man, representing colonial times; Patrick Henry, Revolution; Justice Marshall, justice; [George] Mason, finance; [Thomas] Jefferson, Constitution. *I lingered a long time gazing upon these statues which awakened holy scenes in my imagination. As these were my brethren, contending for human rights, and the liberty of mankind. It was with reluctance that I left the grounds to visit the wharf, the city reservoir, and other points of interest.*

At two P.M. I left for Danville[, Virginia,]¹⁰⁵ where I remained all night. Here I saw two men engage in a fist cuffing, no one killed, however.

[August 3, 1883] At 10-30 A.M. took train for Lynchburgh [, Virginia],¹⁰⁶ where I saw Mr. Pope G[eneral] P[urchasing] A[gent] of W[estern and] A[tlantic] R[ailwa]y. Tried to get reduced rates over

¹⁰⁵ Approximately 140 miles southwest of Richmond.

¹⁰⁶ Lynchburg is in central Virginia about 115 miles west of Richmond.

his road, but failed in doing so. Took train for Marion¹⁰⁷ – which cost me \$5.20. Train started at 4 P.M. We passed through some fine sections of country the finest I have seen since leaving home. Arrived at M[arion] about 12 P.M. Put up at the Central Hotel.

About ten A.M. Elder [John] Henniger came into town to meet me and pilot me to where conference would be held. I find Elder Henniger to be heart and soul in the work of God. He reported his conference in good health and spirits, all of the Elders being zealous in the cause.

The next few days were spent in making our way to Burk's Garden.¹⁰⁸ We visited several families of Saints, with whom we had pleasant times.

[August 7, 1883] Today we reached the Garden and stoped at the home of bro. Henniger's brother [Samuel].¹⁰⁹ He is wealthy, and has a beautiful situation in a very desirable part of the Garden, but manifests no interest what ever in the Gospel. Just think of it! here is all his wealth, but what does it amount to? He will soon pass away and leave it all behind: to get it is oppressing the poor in his wages and will in eternity stand as poor and naked as those whom now he robs. No wife sealed to him, no children he can claim, no sins atoned for – or ordinances attended to which would blot them out – how poor and insignificant does this worldly wealth appear when ~~these~~ contrasted with these heavenly blessings <which> men receive through the Gospel! And since the Earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, what an easy matter for our Father who is in heaven to give unto us an inheritance upon it – one too that shall be an eternal one, O, Lord ever, ever give unto thy servant a desire to lay up treasures in heaven – To seek first the Kingdom of heaven, and trust unto Thee, for the addition of all things else.

[August 8, 1883] Today we met Elders J. G[olden] Kimball and New-

¹⁰⁷ A small town in Smyth County in the southwestern part of the state near the Tennessee and North Carolina borders, approximately 100 miles southwest of Lynchburg.

¹⁰⁸ A small town in Tazewell County in the western part of Virginia, north of Syth County and bordering Kentucky. Burkes Garden was the home of Henry Boyle, the first president of the Southern States Mission, 1875-78.

¹⁰⁹ Samuel T. Henniger (1838-1912) was living in Tazewell County with his wife, Virginia (1851-?), their daughters Isabella and Cora, their son Saul, and their two black servants, John Coffee and Sophia Edmons.

ell Kimball,¹¹⁰ both the brethren were in fine health. Bro. J. G. Kimball looks much stronger than when he left me at Chattanooga.

[August 10, 1883] Our conference commenced today 18 Elders being present. I met Joseph Smith, my brother-in-law. He too was in good spirits and best of health. I think him much improved since leaving home I hope he will accomplish a good work.

Not many in attendance to day, and infact our meetings were sparsely attended untill Sunday. The Gospel has been preached here for years, and the people have become indifferent to the Gospel message.

When speaking Sunday afternoon I enjoyed the Holy Spirit greatly and was able to speak in great plainness on the "Apostasy" and "Restoration". At the close of the service Bro. Sits gave me two dollars. For full account of this conference see Scrap-Book Vol. I p. —¹¹¹

[August 13, 1883] Today I assisted in the baptism of Mr & Mrs. Jemmisson; a splendid spirit prevailed. In the afternoon we walked over as far as Jeffersonville[, Virginia]¹¹² putting up at Col. Harrison's. He is a fine old gentleman, one of Old V[irgini]a's sons of the old school — and I believe one of the noble spirits of the Earth. We spent a very pleasant eve[ning] with him, his house has been open to our Elders as a home for a number of years. He is a friend of Bro. D. H. Peery of Ogden.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Another son of Heber C. Kimball, thirty-one-year-old Newell Whitney Kimball was J. Golden Kimball's half-brother. Newell was born in 1852 in Salt Lake City to Heber C. and Sarah Ann Whitney Kimball. He married Martha W. Winder (1852-1930) in 1879 and was set apart for his mission on 9 October 1882 by Apostle John Henry Smith. He held a number of church and political offices in Cache County, Utah, including mayor of Logan. He died in that city in 1931.

¹¹¹ Roberts's sermon on this occasion had a lasting impact on his secretary, J. Golden Kimball, who later said: "It has been a number of years since I have followed Elder Roberts in the pulpit. The first time I ever saw President Roberts was in Chattanooga, Tennessee. The first time I ever hear[d] him preach the gospel was in Burk's Garden[, Virginia]. I confess, at that time and for a considerable length of time afterwards, I was always awe-struck, and almost beaten into silence when asked to follow him in his public addresses." See address by Elder J. Golden Kimball, First Council of Seventy, in *Conference Report: The Ninety-Seventh Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Oct. 1926, 127.

¹¹² A small town in Halifax County in south-central Virginia on the border with North Carolina.

¹¹³ D. H. Peery was born in 1824 in Tazewell County, Virginia. He married

[August 14, 1883] We passed by the old court house where Elder J[edediah] M. Grant made his famous speech from a blank piece of paper as a text.¹¹⁴ In the afternoon we heard a political speech from a Mr. Baily of Washington Co[unty]. He belonged to what is known as the Mahone party¹¹⁵ and his efforts were principally to make the other party in the state of no worth. We stayed all night with Bro. [blank in original]. By the way we parted with Elders [James] Taylor and Joseph Smith & [James] Wood¹¹⁶ today.

[August 16, 1883] Today we left the Elders excepting J. E. Woolley¹¹⁷ and (George) Bigelow.¹¹⁸ We three made our way to Bro. Jem-mison's where we remained all night and the next day passed through Burk's Garden to Sister Henshaw where we found Elder Landon Rich¹¹⁹ who was a little unwell. We remained here all night.

Nancy Higginbotha, whose family became members of the LDS church in 1852. Peery enlisted in the Confederate Army in 1862 and joined the LDS church after the Civil War and his wife's death. He married his sister-in-law, Letitia Higginbotham, in 1865 and moved with her and other family members to Ogden, Utah, where he was active in a variety of business and political concerns. He served in the state legislature, 1878-1883, and as Ogden's mayor, 1883-1887. He died in 1901 in Ogden.

¹¹⁴ Roberts refers to a famous debate wherein Grant agreed to "preach from such subjects or texts as might be selected at the time of commencing his sermon." Those in attendance presented Grant with a blank sheet of paper, but he proceeded to use it as a prop to distinguish Mormonism from other denominations and the positions of the ministers who were present. See Sessions, *Mormon Thunder*, 25-27.

¹¹⁵ William Mahone (1826-95) was a railroad president before the Civil War, then a Confederate general. After the war, he led the Readjuster Party, a coalition of Democrats, Republicans, and African-Americans who were dedicated to reducing states' debts. The party captured control of the Virginia General Assembly in 1879 and elected Mahone to the Senate in 1881. His efforts to promote bi-racial politics ultimately proved unsuccessful.

¹¹⁶ Thirty-year-old James Grace Wood was born in 1853 in Bountiful, Utah. He married Alice Elizabeth Corbridge (1855-1934) in 1874 and Susan Stoddard (1864-1954) in April 1883 and was set apart for his mission on 8 October 1883 by Apostle Albert Carrington. Wood died in 1889 in St. George, Utah.

¹¹⁷ Thirty-one-year-old John Ensign Woolley was born in 1852 in Salt Lake City. He married Mary Elizabeth Randall (1855-1917) in 1874 and was set apart for his mission on 9 October 1882 by Apostle John Henry Smith. Woolley married Elizabeth Knighton (ca. 1856-?) in 1889 and died in 1912 in Centerville, Utah.

¹¹⁸ George A. Bigelow was born in Nephi, Utah, in 1859. He married Annie Spackman (1861-1947) in 1880 in Salt Lake City and was set apart for his mission on 22 February 1883 by Apostle Albert Carrington. Bigelow died in 1886 in Millville, Utah.

¹¹⁹ Roberts had known Landon Jedediah Rich as a young man in Centerville, Davis County. The twenty-five-year-old was born in Centerville in 1858 and was set apart for a mission to the South on 26 October 1881 by Apostle Joseph F. Smith and for a

[August 18, 1883] Very early this A.M. Elders W[oolley] & B[igelow and I] continued our journey towards Marion. On our way we called in to see bro. Harrison, or rather sister H[arrison] as he is not in the church, but his wife and youngest daughter are and he has always been very kind. Here we found the Kimball brothers and Elder Jessie Smith.¹²⁰ They went with us a mile or so on the way carrying our valeises etc. for us. We held prayer together, and had a very enjoyable time. We parted with all these brethren, and Bro W[oolley] and myself continued our journey to-wards M[arion]. We had to cross the Allegenny M[ountain]s. Were fortunate enough to get up with a wagon and get our valeises carried, and when we reached the summits of the m[ountain]s we rode to M[arion] where we stayed all night. I enjoyed Elder Woolley's company very much.

[August 19, 1883] At 4-20 A.M. we took train for Chattanooga. We passed through Knoxville the principall city of East Tenn[essee.] This is a fine country rather inclinded to be hilly but one of the best sections of the South I have visited. Arrived at Chattanooga about 4 P.M. having been 12 hours on the road. Was met by Elder [Nathaniel] Haws. Spent the next few days in answering letters, writing up my journal, studying scriptures, looking after the affairs of the mission generally. During my stay here Elder [James] Taylor, brought in Elder Israel Bennion¹²¹ who had been sick with chills & fever until he was greatly reduced, and it was thought best for him to return home. He concluded to stay a few days and rest untill Elder [Zadok] Judd¹²² who had been released for a similar cause should come to accompany him.

second mission to the South on 9 April 1883 by Apostle Frances M. Lyman. Rich married Dora Wanlass (1861-1927) in 1890 in Paris, Idaho, and died in 1921 in Springfield, Idaho.

¹²⁰ Twenty-four-year-old Jesse Moroni Smith was born in 1858 in Salt Lake City to Elias and Amy Jane King Smith. He married Harriet Emily Smith (1857-1938) in 1880 and was set apart for his mission on 10 October 1881 by John Van Cott of the First Council of Seventy. He married another Smith, Priscilla (1877-1954), in 1904 and died in 1937 in Ogden, Utah.

¹²¹ Twenty-three-year-old Israel Bennion was born in 1860 in Taylorsville, Utah. He was set apart for his mission on 9 April 1883 by Church Patriarch John Smith. He married Jeanette Sharp (1859-1938) in October 1884 and Matilda Pehrson (1862-1948) in 1888. Bennion died in 1944 in Salt Lake City.

¹²² Twenty-seven-year-old Zadok Knapp Judd Jr. was born in 1855 in Parowan, Utah. He was set apart for his mission on 10 October 1881 by Apostle Moses

I wrote up a report of my missionary labors in the S[outh] and sent it to Pres. M[organ] as a report, also wrote to the *Chattanooga Times* a reply to some statements which that paper had made to in regard to our labors here in the South.¹²³ The article will be found in my Scrap-book Vol. I. p. —

[August 27, 1883]¹²⁴ This afternoon I bid Elders Bennion and Haws fare well and took train for ~~Lebanon~~ Murfreesboro, on my way to Baird's Mills where I had an appointment for the following Sabbath. At M[urfreesboro] took carriage 13 mi[les]. from town, and stayed all night with Mr. R[obert] Gwyn, a man who has been very friendly to us Elders.

Here I met a Mr. Cristmon who said he wanted to talk with me — when he learned I was Elder Roberts of whom he had heard so much. He asked me some questions about the Book of Mormon and other matters, but finally came Polygamy, and endeavored to make some objections to it — but he was intelligent enough to soon let it rest, as he found his arguments were like the wells that will not hold water. He was a very well behaved old gentleman, and was well pleased with our conversation. From this time untill the following Sunday I visited with the Saints all of whom appeared glad to meet with me.¹²⁵

[September 2, 1883] This A.M. I started to Wetmore school-house or rather where it used to be — for it was burned down in the spring — another was now incourse of erection. A goodly number of people were present and I preached to them on various subject, among others the Duties of Saints.

In the afternoon I spoke in the shade of some trees in G.P. Huddleton's door yard — subject, the Priest-hood. I had a fair sized audience at both meetings. At the close of the eve[ning] service I baptized Mrs. Gwyn, also a young man by the name of Schneider &

Thatcher. In January 1884 Judd married Rhoda Marie Howell (1867-1953) in St. George, Utah, and died in 1952.

¹²³ For Roberts's views, see the *Deseret Evening News*, 24 September 1883.

¹²⁴ This is the next entry in the journal. Apparently, Roberts stayed in the area for a week.

¹²⁵ Roberts told his mother that the Saints "are for the most part getting along quite well. It is almost as good as a trip home to visit them, almost but not quite." See letter to Ann Dustin, 1 Sept. 1883, box 3, folder 7, Roberts Papers.

his brother. Spent the eve[ning] with Mr. Schneider and his family and several Saints who gathered there.

While among the Saints and friends of this neighborhood I spent one night which will long be remembered, not because of its pleasantness either.

I retired to my room about 11 o'clock and before getting into bed asked the family — who were all going <to> sleeping on the porch — if I should blow the lamp out or would they come and get it. The lady of the house suggested that If I would let it burn perhaps the chintyes [chinch bugs] would'nt trouble me so much, as they would otherwise. I concluded to let it burn for if there is any thing I can't do it is to sleep where these night tramps take up their abode.

I threw myself on the bed — but not to enjoy pleasant dreams, for these beasts set upon me like ravenous wolves, and I had to "go". I spread a quilt on the floor and tried it there, but they came along with the quilt, and for some time I made war upon them, was successful in killing many of the enemy, but finally left the field to them, dressed myself, took a chair, and impatiently waited for the dawn.

[September 3 - 4, 1883] Continued visiting with my friends Tuesday night staying with our old friend I. Sanders.

[September 6, 1883] "Uncle Irve" [Sanders] took me to Smyrna station where some 18 months before I had spoken in the Masonic Hall. Took train to Nashville, and from thence went to Chattanooga where we arrived same night.

The next few days were spent in writing letters, studying Scriptures etc.

[September 10, 1883] This morning 6 Elders arrived in the Mission from Utah to labor in the South, Sister Haws accompanied them. As they were coming into the depot the train they were on came near meeting with an accident. An out going train passed over their track for a short distance, and then switched off on another track: in throwing the rails the switchman was too fast and the last car of the out-going train was thrown on the track over which the train on which our train folks was [traveling] on, [and] a collision came very nearly being the result.

We spent the forenoon in showing the newly arrived Elders

about town. In the Afternoon we held council meeting in room 18 in the Florentine Hotel.¹²⁶ We instructed the Elders in relation to their duties and assigned them their fields of labor. Their names were — [James] Ross[,]¹²⁷ [Newel] Whitney[,]¹²⁸ [John] Bevin [Bevan].¹²⁹ Elder Bevan was to go with me up into East Tenn[essee].

[September 12, 1883] Elder Bevan and myself started <on> this morning's train for East Tenn[essee] We arrived at Careyville¹³⁰ at 7-30 P.M. Stayed all night at a hotel.

[September 13, 1883] We received no word from the Elders who were to meet us here, so we started in the direction of New Prospect,¹³¹ near where our ~~een~~ two-days meeting was to be held. Rode with the mail as far as Jacksboro[,]¹³² distance three miles for which we paid \$1.00. Here we hired a one horse vehicle and driver to take us to our destination some twenty five miles. We paid \$4.00 for our outfit. Had only proceeded three miles on our journey when we met Elders [Joseph] Hunter¹³³ and [Thomas] Godfrey¹³⁴ on horse-

¹²⁶ The Florentine Hotel was near the mission office and where Roberts and Kimball typically ate. Roberts mentioned that "as Elder Kimball and I made the journey back and forth to the Florentine Hotel for our meals, we frequently heard threatening remarks on the street and in the doorways of saloons and office buildings." See *Autobiography*, 142, 159

¹²⁷ Fifty-six-year-old James Andrew Ross was born in 1836 near Trenton, Tennessee. He married Sarah Cummings (1836-?) and Melinda Cummings (183?-?), both on the same day in 1857 in Salt Lake City; Ann Smith (1839-79) in 1858; and Catherine Elnora Andersen (1836-?) in 1879. Ross was set apart for his mission in August 1883 by Apostle Joseph F. Smith and died in 1917 in Joseph, Sevier County, Utah.

¹²⁸ Thirty-two-year-old Newel Samuel Whitney was born in 1851 in Parowan, Utah. He married Sarah Elizabeth Gurr (1855-1932) in 1872 and was set apart for his mission on 3 September 1883 by Apostle Heber J. Grant. He died in 1926.

¹²⁹ Thirty-two-year-old John A. Bevan was born in 1851 at Council Bluffs, Iowa. He married Leitita M. Kelsey (1855-1934) in 1876 and was set apart for his mission on 3 September 1883 by Apostle Wilford Woodruff. He died in 1925 in Tooele, Utah.

¹³⁰ A small town in Campbell County in northeastern Tennessee bordering Kentucky.

¹³¹ A small town in Lawrence County in south-central Tennessee bordering Alabama.

¹³² Campbell County.

¹³³ Thirty-eight-year-old Joseph Sneddon Hunter was born in 1844 in Scotland. He married Eliza Catherine Pinnock (1846-1913) in Cedar City, Utah, in 1865 and was set apart for his mission on 10 April 1882 by Apostle Frances M. Lyman. He died in 1904 in Cedar City, Utah.

¹³⁴ Thirty-six-year-old Thomas Godfrey was born in 1846 in England. He married

back coming to meet us. Elder Hunter went with our wagon around the road, myself and Elder G[odfrey] took the horses and made our way through the woods to some friends on Powels river. Stayed all night with a Mr. John Housely. Mr. H[ousely] had furnished a home for the Elders in spite of all opposition even though it effected his business — he is a miller.

[September 14, 1883] We made our way up through the country — one of the roughest sections I was ever in — to near the place of holding conference. Met all the Elders at a Mr. Walkers who was very friendly with them.

[September 15, 1883] This morning all the Elders met in prayer, and I spoke to them for some time on the duties of Elders and the dignity of our calling.

We had a fair turn out at our morning's meeting, two minesters were present. Elder [Samuel] Jackson¹³⁵ spoke first I followed with a discourse on the gospel Text — Rom. 1/16.¹³⁶ Went to dinner at a Mr. [blank in original]. The two minesters who were Methodist preachers came at the same place. They introduced a conversation with me relative to my discourse — using very sneering and very unbecoming language for men of their profession, but they could make no headway against the truth and before they were through with their "young friend" they were so completely beaten that they could say nothing. I took occasion to lecture them severely for their conduct and they took [it] in scilence. I also spoke a while in the afternoon.

[September 16, 1883] Met again with the brethren in prayer and council. After those brethren who had not spoken the previous day had addressed the meeting in the morning I occupied the remain-

Karen Marie Jensen (1849-1932) in 1867 in Clarkston, Utah, and her sister, Caroline Jensen (1860-1900), in 1880 in Salt Lake City. Godfrey was set apart for his mission on 26 February 1883 by Apostle Joseph F. Smith. He died in 1933 in Clarkston, Utah.

¹³⁵ Thirty-year-old Samuel Jackson Sr. was born in 1844 in Manchester, England. He married Hannah Marie Jacques (1850-1929) in 1867 in Salt Lake City, was set apart for his mission on 17 September 1881 by Apostle George Q. Cannon, and married Martha Ann Jackson (1857-1933) in November 1883 in Salt Lake City. Jackson died in 1919 in St. George, Utah.

¹³⁶ "For I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek."

der of the time both in the forenoon and the afternoon We had a large congregation and another minster by the name of Green Palmer. He had brought with him some books "against the Mormons", and expected to make a speech; but after attending morning and eve[ning] service it appears that he had changed his mind, as we heard nothing from him. He was their "big preacher."

[September 19, 1883] We held meeting to night at Mr. Housely's school-house. A goodly number were present. I had been very sick all day with my old complaint — head-ache.

[September 20, 1883] This morning Elders Jackson Pres[ident] of East Tenn[essee] Conference, Elder W[illiam] H. Joseph¹³⁷ (who had been released to return home) and myself started from Mr. Housely's at 1 A.M. for Careyville enroute for Chattanooga. Mr. H[ousley] and a lady by the name of Slouchorn let us ~~some~~ <two> horses, and a brother Buttler accompanied us on another. Elder Godfrey also went with us in order to bring the horses back. We rode to within a mile an ½ of C[areyville] and bidding Elder Godfrey and bro Buttler good bye we made our way <to the R[ailwa]y station> where [w]e <had> breakfast. I suffered much from headache, and at Knoxville I took a dram of Rye whiskey — the first I ever took while on a mission. It deadened the pain in my head. About 5 P.M. we arrived in Chattanooga where we met Elders Haws and [John] Fairbanks:¹³⁸ the latter was on his way home. We spent a pleasant eve[ning] together.

[September 21, 1883] This morning I find my self sick. About as ill as ever I was in my life. I suffered extreem pain in my head, and nothing would releave me. About ten o'clock the Elders adminestered to me and again in about half an hour. I fell into a sleep soon after

¹³⁷ Sixteen-year-old William Henry Joseph was born in 1856 in Syracuse, Ohio. He married Lillie Anetta Huish (1855-1893) in 1874 in Salt Lake City and was set apart for his mission on 24 October 1881 by Apostle Wilford Woodruff. He died in 1926 in Fallon, Nevada.

¹³⁸ Twenty-seven-year-old John B. Fairbanks was born in 1855 in Payson, Utah. He married Lillie Anetta Huish (1857-98) in 1877 and was set apart for his mission on 10 October 1881 by Apostle Moses Thatcher. In 1890-1892, Fairbanks studied at the Julien Art Academy in Paris. He later painted the murals in the St. George, Salt Lake, and Mesa temples. He married Florence Gifford (1892-1952) in 1917 and died in 1940.

from which I awoke much better, but far from well. In the afternoon I dictated five letters and wrote one to my wife. Elder Jackson went about noon into Wilson County. Elders Joseph + Fairbanks started home at 7-30.

For several days I remained quite unwell, and only attended to writing the letters which of necessity had to be attended to.

[September 26, 1883] This morning was surprised to receive a telegram from Elder J. M. Easton laboring in S[outh] C[arolina] to the effect that Elder Cha[rle]s. E. Robinson,¹³⁹ Bishop of Montpelier Bear Lake, Idaho, had died that morning — a[nother] telegram sent two days before[,] speaking of his ~~death~~ illness[,] was received at the same time. We were greatly surprised at this for Elder Robinson was strong and healthy when last I parted from him. He was a faithful Elder, kind in his demeanor, and in his field of labor, among some remnants of the Lamanites [Native Americans], and of the Catawaba tribe, he had gained the confidence and love of many who knew him. — see Scrap Book Vol. __ p. __.

We at once set about arranging for his body to be sent home to his bereved family.¹⁴⁰

[September 29, 1883] We met Elder Easton at a little R[ailwa]y station a few miles from Chattanooga in charge of Elder Robinson's body. He had a safe journey and at night continued his journey in charge of the body. (he arrived at Montpelier[, Idaho,] on the 4th Oct. and delivered the earthly remains of Bro. R[obinson] to his relatives).

[October 1-16, 1883] From this untill the 17th day of the month continued the labors attending the correspondence of the Mission, directing the Elders in their various fields of labor.

On the 12th of this month I received a letter from Elder Jos[eph] Smith, my wife's brother which gave me much satisfaction.

¹³⁹ Thirty-seven-year-old Charles Edward Robinson was born in 1845 in Nauvoo, Illinois. He married Rosetta Mary Berry (1843-1918) in 1865 and was set apart for his mission on 9 April 1883 by Apostle Lorenzo Snow. As Roberts indicates, Robinson died 26 September 1883 while serving as president of the South Carolina conference.

¹⁴⁰ Roberts told his mother that there was a "cloud of sorrow" surrounding Robinson's death, while also assuring her that "no one could ask a nobler place to die at than the 'post of duty.'" See letter to Ann Dustin, 27 September 1883, box 3, folder 7, Roberts Papers.

From it I learned that a new light had burst in upon his understanding and that he had received a knowledge of the truth of the Gospel. In this I rejoiced, and trust that light may ever illuminate his path way through life.

I had arranged to take a tour through Miss[issippi], Ala[bama] and Tenn[essee] visiting some of the Elders in their fields of labor, and with whom we expected to hold some public meetings. A letter from Pres. Morgan informed me that about 15 Elders would leave Salt Lake City; and reach Chattanooga about the 17th inst.¹⁴¹ In consequence of this I had to postpone — or rather abandon my visit to the state of Miss[issippi].

[October 17, 1883] A party of ten Elders arrived in the mission and were assigned to their various fields of labor. Several of the Elders were from Davis County.

After making arrangements for the Elders getting to their fields of labor, in company with Elders [David] Hess¹⁴² and [George] Woodbury¹⁴³ who were going with me to Lauderdale Co[unty,] Ala[bama,]¹⁴⁴ to hold a two days meeting near Florence,¹⁴⁵ and Elder [David] Cannon¹⁴⁶ and [Erastus] Lemmon¹⁴⁷ enroute for Des Arc, Ark[ansas].¹⁴⁸ I took train at Nine o'clock P.M. for Florence.

¹⁴¹ An abbreviation meaning in the present month.

¹⁴² Forty-six-year-old David Hess was born in 1837 in Ray County, Missouri. He married Jane Ann Wilson (1840-95) in 1858 in Salt Lake City and Elizabeth Fretwell (1837-?) and Luella Minerva Hyde (1837-?) on the same day in 1870. Hess was set apart for his mission on 8 October 1883 by Apostle Frances M. Lyman. He died in 1928 in Farmington, Utah.

¹⁴³ Twenty-two-year-old George J. Woodbury was born in 1860 in Salt Lake City. He married Elizabeth Rowan Romney (1859-1917) in 1881 and was set apart for his mission on 8 October 1883 by Apostle Albert Carrington. He died in 1889 in St. George, Utah.

¹⁴⁴ Lauderdale County is in the extreme northwest corner of Alabama bordering Tennessee and Mississippi.

¹⁴⁵ The county seat for Lauderdale County, Alabama.

¹⁴⁶ Twenty-two-year-old David Henry Cannon Jr. was born in 1860 in Salt Lake City. He was set apart for his mission on 8 October 1883 by Apostle Francis M. Lyman, married Camilla Ensign Mason (1861-1941) in 1885 in Logan, Utah, and died in 1944 in St. George.

¹⁴⁷ Twenty-two-year-old Erastus G. Lemmon was born in 1861 in Nebraska. He was set apart for his mission on 9 April 1883 by William W. Taylor of the First Council of Seventy.

¹⁴⁸ Located approximately eighty miles west of Memphis and forty miles east of Little Rock.

IV.
The Exodus from Tennessee

1884

[October 4, 1884] Went to the Semi-annual conference¹ in company with A. B. Porter² and W[illia]m Barber,³ John Whit[a]ker,⁴ Ja[me]s Cherry.⁵ The forenoon occupied by Pres. J[ohn] Taylor and W[ilford] W. Woodruff. Dined with Pres. John Morgan. Attended

¹ In September, Roberts traveled to Colorado to attend a stake conference there with the transplanted Southern members and to meet with John Morgan, Joseph F. Smith, and Erastus Snow. From Colorado, Roberts continued on to see his wife and family in Centerville, Utah, and to attend general conference in Salt Lake City. Roberts also spoke to church president John Taylor about plural marriage, and on 2 October, Roberts married twenty-year-old Celia Dibble, a former student of Roberts's, as a plural wife. See Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 155-57; Gary James Bergera, ed., *The Autobiography of B. H. Roberts* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 157-59.

² Thirty-two-year-old Aaron Benjamin Porter was born in 1851 in Centerville. He married Rebecca Margaret Poole (1855-1935) in 1874. From 1888 through 1899, he was bishop of the Centerville ward. He died in 1904 in Farmington, Utah.

³ Thirty-two-year-old William Frederick Barber was born in 1851 in Sussex, England, and was adopted by David and Sarah Finch. He married Ruth Geal in 1874. A longtime resident of Centerville, he served on the town board from 1915 through 1923.

⁴ Nineteen-year-old John Mills Whitaker was born in 1864 in Centerville, Utah. He married Ida O. Taylor (1860-1946), a daughter of LDS president John Taylor, in 1896. He served as bishop of the Sugar House ward and in other church callings and died in 1960 in Salt Lake City.

⁵ Fifty-year-old John James Cherry was born in 1834 in Pendleton County, Kentucky. He was baptized in 1846 and entered the Salt Lake Valley on 5 September 1847

meeting in the afternoon — Lorenzo Snow⁶ spoke on the importance of teaching the children correct principles & the responsibility of fatherhood & motherhood: read from Sec. 68 and 29 of Doc[trine] & Cov[enants.] Erastus Snow reported his recent travels through Colorado[,] New Mexico, and Arizona. At 7 o'clock in the eve[ning] I attended the YM[M]I Ass[oc.]. Conference held in the Assembly Hall. I occupied a few moments of the time at the request of Pres. Woodruff. During the meeting a sister fainted, and at the request of Apostle F. D. Richards I accompanied he and Apostle G[eorge] Teasdale⁷ and administered to her, & she began to recover. Stayed all night with Pres[ident] Morgan.

[October 5, 1884] Attended Conference this A.M. Time occupied by F. D. Richards and Geo. Q. Cannon; the latter preached a very powerful discourse — taking for a text 29th Isaiah. “A Marvelous Work & a Wonder”~~ful~~ Also attended conference in the afternoon & Priesthood meeting in the eve[ning] at which Pres. Taylor spoke[,] also Bro. Woodruff. Sister Roberts staid with me at Morgan's.

[October 6, 1884] Attended Conference rich instructions as on day before. Bishop [Nathan] Cheney [of Centerville] furnished me a carriage to take my wife home.

[October 7, 1884] Again attended conference and listened to a discourse by Pres. J[ohn] Taylor on the Present situation of the Kingdom of God. Remarks also by H[eber] J. ~~M.~~ Grant⁸ and Apostle J[ohn] W. Taylor. The conference has been one of much interest in as much as the Saints have been exhorted to keep the commandments of God despite the opposition of men.⁹

During the conference I have met with many of the Elders who have been connected with the Southern Mission as also have made

in a company headed by Charles C. Rich. Cherry married Laura Bratton (1841-1924) in 1856. A longtime resident of Centerville, Utah, he died there in 1925.

⁶ Lorenzo Snow (1814-1901) was ordained an apostle on 12 February 1849. He would become church president on 13 September 1898.

⁷ George Teasdale (1831-1907) was ordained an LDS apostle in October 1882.

⁸ Heber Jeddy Grant (1856-1945) was ordained an apostle in October 1882 and became the seventh president of the LDS church in 1918.

⁹ Roberts refers to plural marriage. Four months later, President John Taylor and other church authorities will go into hiding to escape arrest for polygamy.

the acquaintance of many of the brethren. We also met with a goodly number of the Saints from our Colorado Settlements all of which was gratifying to me. Returned home in the eve[ning]. But Bah — How weak is man! Have read but little last few days.

[October 8, 1884] I spent the day at home[,] wrote two letters[,] one to J. G[olden] Kimball pertaining to affairs of the Mission & one to [the] Bishop of Deseret[, Utah,¹⁰ Joseph S. Black,]¹¹ asking him to send means to Elder [John] Styler¹² [who] was on a mission in Tennessee and who had been released to return home but had no one to whom he could apply for means.

In the eve[ning] a number of my friends came in to see me[,] some twelve in all we had a very pleasant time, but possibly had too much light mindness as the Lord has told us that much and loud laughter is sin see D.&C. Sec. 59/15.¹³ Also Nephi had to correct his brethren & sisters while <on> board of ship enroute for the promised land — because of the light mindedness and rudeness. See I Nephi ch[apter] 18/8, 9.¹⁴ It requires quite an exertion to be a Saint in very deed and at times I almost become discouraged.

[Oct 9, 1884] This A.M. went to Salt Lake. Met with Pres. Morgan and prepared statements respecting the Southern Mission and present[ed] the propriety of the Church assisting the Saints on Cane Creek[, Tennessee,]¹⁵ to gather to Colorado. At three o'clock

¹⁰ Deseret was a small town near Delta in Millard County in the west-central part of Utah.

¹¹ Joseph S. Black was born in 1836 in Ireland and served as bishop of Deseret from 1877 through 1891. He died in 1910.

¹² Twenty-nine-year-old John Styler was born in 1855 in Switzerland. He married Almira Murray Black (1857-1938) in 1882 in Salt Lake City. When he was set apart for his mission on 24 January 1883 by Apostle Joseph F. Smith, he was living in Deseret, Utah. Styler died in 1939.

¹³ "And inasmuch as ye do these things with thanksgiving, with cheerful hearts and countenances, not with much laughter for this is sin, but with a glad heart and a cheerful countenance."

¹⁴ "And it came to pass after we had ... been driven forth before the wind for the space of many days, behold, my brethren and the sons of Ishmael and also their wives began to make themselves merry, insomuch that they began to dance, and to sing, and to speak with much rudeness, yea, even that they did forget by what power they had been brought thither."

¹⁵ In August four church members, including two missionaries, were killed at Cane Creek, Lewis County. Roberts and Isaac Church were helped by two sympathetic

we met with Pres. Taylor and [George Q.] Cannon[,] also with nine of the Twelve to talk over those things. Pres. Morgan and myself reported the condition of the Mission. About seventy five Elders in the field, baptized nearly thirty a month, etc. etc. While opposition existed in various parts of a very serious character yet it was local, and there are many honest in heart who have not heard the Gospel.

Pres. Taylor said we must keep on in our work, and because a few vile persons in a neighborhood sought to oppose and oppress us, that is no reason we should not take the gospel to others that they might have the privilege of obeying it. We want to look at these things as intilligent men and not be nervous or flighty about such matters for we shall be opposed by other nations yet.

We related to him the manner of our procedure in distributing tracts etc, in which he seemed very much interested. At this point I had to leave and there were some items pertaining to finance that I could not stop to see presented but Pres. Morgan would attend to that and I left. I sit today for a picture at Carter's.¹⁶ Bro. Ja[me]s Dwyer,¹⁷ my old friend presented me with a very beautiful pocket Bible.

[October 10, 1884] For the most part spent the day studying the Constitution of the U. S. especially that part which relates to Religious liberty, the passing of Bills of Attainder and Expost facto laws.

[October 11, 1884] This A.M. went to Salt Lake City — rode down with W[illia]m Evans, my brother-in-law, his wife [Phoebe]¹⁸ and Grandma Smith;¹⁹ called on my Mother on the way.

In company with Pres. J[ohn] Morgan called at Pres. Taylor's office and secured \$50.00, in cash to pay my expenses back to the South: also received \$200.00 in a Tithing order on Bishop Chene' to assist my family. Purchased a coat and several other articles.

neighbors in retrieving the elders' bodies, placing them in steel caskets and sending them on a train to Utah in care of Elder Willie Robinson. See *Autobiography*, 136-55.

¹⁶ Charles W. Carter (1832-1918) was born in England and came to Utah in the 1850s to become an important Salt Lake City photographer.

¹⁷ Born in Ireland, the fifty-year-old Dwyer was a storekeeper in Salt Lake City, where he lived with his forty-year-old wife, six children, and a servant and gardener.

¹⁸ Evans married Phoebe Emeline Smith (1855-1939), Louisa's sister, 10 January 1876 in Centerville.

¹⁹ It is unclear who Roberts refers to because Louisa's grandmother Mary Agnes Reed Smith had been dead for many years.

Bro. Cha[rle]s Clark²⁰ who married Bro. J[ohn] Woolley's daughter Mary E. Woolley, made me a present of a very fine hat.

It appears that more than a year ago I was joking Mary E. about getting married and the bargain was made that if she married before a certain time she was to make me a present of a hat; if she remained single I was to purchase her a new dress, she married and bought me a hat, though I had forgotten all about the circumstances until she named it and her husband bought the hat. I studied Scriptures in the evening – Saturday night – will my worship be acceptable tomorrow?

[October 12, 1884] Attended worship at home [in Centerville] this A.M.[,] and[,] in connection with Tho[ma]s Waddoups²¹ & W[il]liam Smith[,], occupied the time. The other brethren addressed the Saints on miscellaneous subjects, I spoke on the Promises to the Saints of the Holy Ghost and its powers & operations. Had fair liberty of the Spirit. Sunday ~~paid~~ afternoon visit[ed] the family of Philo Dibble.²²

[October 13, 1884] Today I attended the funeral of brother Amos Barber²³ a young man who had been sick of a fever for some time. He was a deacon, and tolerably faithful in the discharging of his duties. The ward turned out in Mass to the funeral and at the request of Bishop Cheney, I preached the funeral discourse. My remarks were principally upon the Resurrection. [H]ad very good liberty of

²⁰ Charles Rich Clark was born in 1861 in Farmington, Utah, to Ezra T. and Mary Stevenson Clark. He married Mary Emma Woolley (1862-1928) in June 1883 and later married Ann Elizabeth Waldron (1862-1936). After graduating from the University of Deseret in 1880, Clark worked as a school teacher in Centerville and Morgan, Utah, and in Idaho and Wyoming and served as a city councilman and Justice of the Peace in Morgan. He died in 1933 in Salt Lake City.

²¹ Thomas Waddoups was born in 1855 in England and came to Utah with his parents in 1866. He married Mary Call (1858-1915) in 1874 and Cynthia Call (1864-1946) in 1880. A framer by profession, he served a mission to Great Britain in 1883-84 and later became one of the presidents of the 70th Quorum of Seventy. He died in 1934 in Bountiful, Utah.

²² Philo Dibble, Roberts's new father-in-law, was born in 1835 in Liberty, Missouri, to Philo and Celia Dibble. He married Antoinette Cleveland (1844-1919) in 1863 in Salt Lake City and died in 1915 in Layton, Utah. The Dibbles had nine children, of which their daughter Celia Ann (1864-1936) was the oldest.

²³ Amos Barber was a twenty-year-old Centerville resident living with his sister Ruth and her husband, William, who coincidentally was also named Barber.

the spirit but I fear I am not improving much in public speaking & if there is any thing I dread, it is coming to a standstill, Do thou O Lord help me to become more efficient!

In the Afternoon I drove my wife [Louisa] to Salt Lake City & visited Thomas Howel[1]s who had married an old school mate of mine Sister Mary Parrish.²⁴ We had been at his house but a short time when the bishop of the 15th ward[,] hearing of my being there[,] desired to see me, so in company of bro. Howells I called upon him. He had call[ed] in a number of leading young men of his ward to consult with them about the election of officers in their Y.M.M.I. Ass[ociation] so that I made the acquaintance of several young men. At the request of the bishop I made a few remarks on the nature of the Y[oung] M[ens] Ass[ociation] which were well received.

Returning to brother Howell's house we spent a pleasant evening in instructing our wives on the principles of Celestial Marriage.²⁵ And I believe our remarks will do good.

[October 14, 1884] Called on Pres. Morgan and with him went to the *Juvenile Instructor* office and made arrangements for getting tracts to the Southern Mission. We are to have tracts furnished us in advance of payment with 20 percent off the retail price, we to make occasionally remittances.

Spent the remainder of the day visiting the city with Louisa and in the eve[ning] returned home and spent the rest of the eve[ning] at Henry Rampton's in company with a number of our relatives — pleasant time.

[October 15, 1884] Spent the morning at home attending to various items of work. The afternoon I spent visiting the miss Chases²⁶ — I

²⁴ Thomas Francis Howells was born in 1854 in Salt Lake City. He married Mary Bratton Parrish in March 1881. She was born in 1858 in Centerville. Thomas died in 1918, Mary in 1940—both in Salt Lake City.

²⁵ "Celestial marriage" is another term for plural marriage. In the 1840s Joseph Smith taught that polygamy, or the "new and everlasting covenant" of marriage, was required to attain the highest degree of the celestial kingdom.

²⁶ Roberts refers to the daughters of George and Josephine Chase, some of whom were approximately Roberts's age and had been longtime friends. Most certainly, he refers to Kate Chase (1857-1937), a teacher and midwife in Centerville. The other daughters were Alice, Viola, Josephine, Fanny, and Ella. See also Roberts's diary entry for 28 February 1885.

was almost a boy again. [W]e had a splendid time — singing, joking, checkers & chess. On my return home found my old traveling companion Joseph Ford & his wife[,] also A. B. Porter had come in to spend the eve[ning] with me. Good time talking over past adventures.

This A.M. I went after my mother that she might spend the day with me as I expected to start for the South in the eve[ning]. At about four o'clock I once more bid my family good-by and left for the Southern Mission.

[October 16, 1884] [J]oined Elder Morgan this A.M. at [blank in original] and with him went on to Ogden where we met with a number of the Saints who had come from San Luis Stake Colo[rado] to go through the temple at Logan and were now enroute for their homes in Col[orado].²⁷ I joined them, Elder Morgan going with us as far as Salt Lake City. Then we met with Sister Morgan and Sister Jos. F. Smith.

[October 17, 1884] We continued our journey and in the eve[ning]. Came to Pueblo[, Colorado,] where I bid the Saints enroute for Col[orado] adieu and taking the Santa Fe R[ailwa]y car continued my journey Eastward.

In the night I dreamed that I was in the house of some one, who I cannot tell, but it was a woman's, rather above the middle height and haggard in appearance. Louisa was present. The strange woman made serious remarks of a derogatory character of the principle of Plural Marriage. I bore it patiently for some time and was about to leave the house; but under a sudden impulse returned. The woman who had spoken against plural marriage was in a stooping posture and did not see my approach. I laid my hand heavily upon her shoulder and under my touch she seemed to whither, and when she turned to look into my face the utmost horror was pictured in her countenance. In a loud voice I told her never to speak evil of that sacred principle where she had complained, for if she did she would deny the faith and meet with the disfavor of heaven.

²⁷ The Logan temple had opened five months earlier. The temples in Manti and Salt Lake City were years away from completion, and the only other temple in operation, the St. George temple, was inaccessible from the direction of the Mormon settlements in Colorado.

Again I was about to leave the house, <but> again turned upon the woman who stood horrified at what I had said, and addressed her in still more vigorous language the most of which I have forgotten; but I remember having told her that if this persisted in her present course she would live to see the day that in the morning she would say "would God it were night & at night would God it were morning" and so left the house. I had forgotten Louisa, but turned to go for her and met her before quite reaching the house. She had one of our children in her arms and as I took it from her she gently remonstrated with me for being so harsh, yet conceded that all I said was true.

[October 20, 1884] Arrived at K[ansas] C[ity] at about six o'clock: put up at the Metropolitan Hotel. Attended the theatre[,] saw enacted the *White Slave* by Bartley Cambell.²⁸ The first sentence I caught was — "Rags are royal raiment when worn for virtue's sake."

[October 21, 1884] Rose much refreshed, but it was late. Went to the M[emphis] & Ft. Scott R[ailwa]y office to see Mr. A. R. Newton their ag[en]t who wished to make us a proposal in regard to our Southern Emigration, but found he was not in the City.²⁹ Strolled about the town some time [and] returned to a good dinner. In the afternoon I bought a copy of Byron for 45 cents. At 7:20 P.M. took train for St. Louis.

[October 22, 1884] Arrived in St. Louis this A.M. [and] have had a good nights rest. Concluded to stay all night day in St. Louis. Visited the principal thoroughfares.

In the afternoon I wrote out in the rough the first number of series of articles for the *Instructor* on the Gospel. Took train for Cin[cin]nati at 7-20.

[October 23, 1884] Had a miserable night's rest, crowded & cold. Ar-

²⁸ Bartley Campbell (1843-1888) was a nineteenth-century journalist, playwright, and producer. His 1882 play, *The White Slave*, was one of a succession of melodramas and farces he wrote for one of his six touring companies. He was considered talented and energetic but not especially innovative, and his plays are read today mostly as a barometer of late nineteenth-century public attitudes.

²⁹ A priority for Roberts on returning to Tennessee is arranging for the emigration of persecuted church members. See *Defender*, 158-59; *Autobiography*, 159-62; diary entries for 28 Oct., 1, 4, 6, 13, 22 Nov. 1884.

rived in Cin[cinnati] about seven o'clock[,] put up at the Walnut St[reet] Hotel. Feeling rather poorly.

I bought the Library of Universal Knowledge in fifteen volumes for \$7.50.³⁰ Spent part of the afternoon in the reading room; towards night I took a stroll through some of the principal streets. At 8.50 P.M. took train for Chattanooga.

[October 24, 1884] Arrived in Chattanooga, at 8-30 A.M. Meet Elder [J. Golden] Kimball. I was very much pleased to see him and I think the pleasure was mutual: but when one has been absent from home as long as he has — some eighteen months — and receives the treatment the Elders have to endure — they would be glad to see even a dog from home.

Elder Kimball was in good health and Spirits.

[October 28, 1884] The past few days I have been reading letters striving to get hold of the run of matters in the mission. I find a good feeling generally among the Elders though there is an idea in their minds of some of the brethren that the mission will be abandoned because of the late tragedy on Cane Creek.³¹ But of course the work of the Lord cannot be stayed because of the opposition of a mob: the Gospel must be taught to the nations.

We have also been very busy in getting in communication with the Saints who are intending to Emigrate with the next company.

[October 29, 1884] Today Elder Kimball started to Columbia to meet some of the brethren from Cane Creek who had received word to meet either he or myself. He missed the afternoon train, and had to wait for the 8-25 P.M. train he got off with that. We had a very agreeable evening together, I spent the time reading and writing after he left until a late bed time.

I received a letter from Ja[me]s. A. Eldredge today from Baird's Mills where he has been laboring for some time. He reports that mobs are beginning to make their appearance in that locality.

A company of masked men rode up to brother Linard

³⁰ *Library of Universal Knowledge: A Reprint of the Last (1880) Edinburgh and London Edition of Chambers's Encyclopedia with Copious Additions by American Editors*, 15 vols. (New York: S. W. Green's Sons, 1882).

³¹ See note 15.

Burk[e']s³² in the night and asked if he knew where any Mormons lived, he replied that he was one — they told him that all Mormons would be compelled to leave in twenty days. This brother answered with a laugh and they rode on.

Sunday the Saints held testimony meeting in their meeting house and Sunday night Elder [James] Eldredge stoped [for the evening] with brother Simmons. About 10 o'clock they were aroused by the tramping of horses and we[re] called to come out.

Some one went to the door and the men outside asked if they had any Mormon Elder there, being answered in the affirmative they said "bring him out here we wish to see him and be quick about it and come with uplifted hands."

Elder Eldredge complied with this request, and was confronted by five armed and masked men who presented their pistols in his face and asked if he really believed in the obnoxious principles taught by the L.D.S. and if so didn't he expect to deny them. He replied that he hoped he never would deny them.

They told him he should not be hurt if he would agree to leave the state in a given time. He told them to bring some of their wise men and ministers, [and] if they would confute the doctrine he advocated he would leave. This appeared to madden them and they said the country[,] the people, and the law would uphold them in what they were doing, and they were determined that he should leave. After consulting together ~~it was~~ among themselves, they determined to give him ten days to leave and if he was not gone death would be the result. Elder Eldredge made no reply would not promise.

[October 30, 1884] Today I wrote ever so many letters — and among others one to brother Ja[me]s Eldredge about the threats made against him.

I told him to use every caution — staying only at those places where he would least likely to be attacked by mobs; to keep a shot gun handy and if needs be use it, and never again place himself in the hands of those wretches.

I reported the matter to ~~brother~~ Pres. J[ohn] Morgan — with an expression of my feeling.

³² Linard Burke was a twenty-nine-year-old farmer living in Wilson County with his twenty-eight-year-old wife, Emma, and their young daughter, Maud.

[November 1, 1884] Early this A.M. Elder Kimball returned from his trip to Columbia. He had been successful in meeting with brother J. M. Lancaster³³ and had given him instructions how to proceed in getting the Saints to Chattanooga. There were not nearly so many Saints to assist as we had supposed, and even those who would need assistance had got scattered so that we shall not be able to reach them this fall. We spent the day rather listlessly and unprofitably perhaps.

Our papers from home brought us the News that brother Rudger Clawson was found guilty of the practice of polygamy.³⁴

[November 2, 1884] This A.M. four Elders reported at Chattanooga from home. Their names were Joseph U. Eldredge [Eldredge],³⁵ S[alt] L[ake] City; Tho[mas] E. Harper,³⁶ Calls Fort;³⁷ W. P. Camp,³⁸ Idaho; [and] W. M. Daines,³⁹ Hyde Park, Cache Co[unty], Utah]. We spent the day very pleasantly in visiting places of interest in this place with these Elders; and in the afternoon we meet with & instructed them in their duties.

³³ J. M. Lancaster was a thirty-five-year-old farmer living in Hickman County with his thirty-four-year-old wife, Sarah, and their four children.

³⁴ Rudger Clawson (1857-1943) was convicted of polygamy and unlawful cohabitation as the first person prosecuted under the provisions of the Edmunds Act of 1882. At his sentencing, he told the judge he very much regretted that "the laws of my country should come into conflict with the laws of God," but that when they did, he chose the latter. He was given a \$300 fine and sentenced to four years in jail. After serving three years, he was pardoned by U.S. president Grover Cleveland. Clawson would be ordained an apostle on 10 October 1898.

³⁵ Forty-one-year-old Joseph Underwood Eldredge was born in 1843 in Dennis, Massachusetts, and married Vianna Merrill Pratt (1851-1936) in 1870 in Salt Lake City. He was set apart for his mission on 7 April 1884 by Apostle Albert Carrington. He died in 1934 in Salt Lake City.

³⁶ Twenty-seven-year-old Thomas Ephraim Harper was born in 1857 in Calls Fort, Utah. He married Ellen Van Orden (1859-83) in 1878 and was set apart for his mission on 7 October 1884 by Jacob Gates of the First Council of Seventy. He married Celia Ann Phippen (1867-1947) in 1888 and died in 1923 in Ogden, Utah.

³⁷ Calls Fort is in northwestern Utah, seven miles north of Brigham City in Box Elder County.

³⁸ Twenty-five-year-old Williams Peter Camp was born in 1859 in Salt Lake City. He married Ann Morse (1862-1942) in 1879 and was set apart for his mission on 7 October 1884 by Apostle Albert Carrington. Camp died in 1955 in Malad, Idaho.

³⁹ Twenty-one-year-old W. Moroni Daines was born in 1862 in Salt Lake City. He married Elizabeth Ann Hatch (1861-1945) in 1883 and was set apart for his mission on 7 October 1884 by John Morgan, president of the Southern States Mission. Daines married Elizabeth Hatch's sister Chloe Viola Hatch (1872-1962) in 1889 in Colonia Diaz, Mexico. He died in 1939 in Hyde Park, Utah.

At night these Elders took their departure for V[irgini]a where they will be assigned fields of labor. I have felt sad all day long, and felt like I wanted to burst into tears though just what the matter is I can't say. O, dear what strange beings we Mortals are!

[November 3, 1884] This A.M. I took the 5 train for Cin[cinnati].⁴⁰ Nothing [...] occurred during the journey of any moment. The chief topic of conversation was the Presidential Election which takes place tomorrow.⁴¹ The streets of Cin[cinnati] were crowded as nearly every body had come home to vote, and all the people in the city had turned out to hear the talk about the Election.

[November 4, 1884] This A.M. the Election for U.S. President began. There was very little excitement in the City until about 5 or 6 o'clock P.M.; when a disturbance occurred in the 8th ward; but it did not result in any thing serious[,] that is there was no general riot — one police man was killed out right, another man mortally wounded and several hurt.

At night the city was wild with excitement as the election returns began to come in. The streets were thronged all night with drunken howling men who had well nigh lost all contrroll of themselves: the election had gone very close, and the result was doubtful.

During the day I met with Mr. Lippincott of [the] Santa Fe [Railroad]; Mr. Paris of the O[hio] & M[ississippi] & Mr. Yancy of the Wabash [railroads]; and made all necessary arrangement for [all] of our company of Saints to get through who will go on the 13th; also arranged transportation for Elder Kimball as far as Pueblo, Col[orado].

[November 5, 1884] Took train for Chattanooga at 8-30.

⁴⁰ Roberts is in Cincinnati to meet with railroad agents about transporting large numbers of church members to southern Colorado. The previous month, Roberts had tried unsuccessfully to meet with these men in Kansas City and Cincinnati. See *Autobiography*, 159-60, which misdates Roberts's meeting with the Santa Fe Railroad representative to the spring of 1885; diary entries for 20-22 Oct., 4 Nov. 1884.

⁴¹ This was the close race between Republican James G. Blaine, who received 49.9 percent of the popular vote, and Democrat Grover Cleveland, who won with 55 percent of the electoral vote. Both candidates were considered tainted—Blaine for having taken bribes as Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives and Cleveland for sexual scandal. A sizeable number of Republicans ("Mugwumps") broke ranks and voted Democrat.

During the day I read several lectures of Proff. Huxley on Evolution⁴² but what with the excitement of the election which appeared at every station along the line, together with my thoughts occurring to the folks at home, and several other things that would crowd upon my attention and reflections, I had a rather hard time to keep my mind upon Huxley's explanation of Induction, Deduction, Avatism, The Survival of the Fittest etc. etc.

[November 6, 1884] Woke up late this morning, and feel as if I had passed through the wars. My heart was in my mouth nearly all morning.

We had received a letter from Pres M[organ] on the 3d, which came to my hands last night. It inclosed \$742.20 bank c[hec]k making in all \$1500.00 that we have received to assist in emigrating the Saints from Cane Creek.

We wired Pres. M[organ] receipt for the amount.

We are to fill out printed receipts for the money required by each family and have the responsible parties of said families sign said notes making them payable to John Morgan.

We received another letter from Pres. M[organ] today again advising us to move slowly in our efforts to present the Gospel to the people and intimating that there was a feeling on the part of the Saints and some of the brethren of the authorities that the nation was upon the eve of a civil crisis or disturbance during which time it would be difficult to present the Gospel to the people.

He further stated that the people by considerable majority and some of the brethren of the Authorities were in favor of sending no more Elders to the Southern Mission. While Pres. Taylor and Cannon coincide with the view of Pres. Morgan and myself, i.e. the work of preaching the Gospel should go on, still they depended on our representation of the case and if there was any censure we would have to bear it — "If there is any firing we stood in the front rank." From this it appeared to me that we would be held responsible for the lives of the Elders and it was a position that I cared not to occupy and sent in substance the following reply to Pres. M[organ]'s letter.

⁴² Thomas Huxley (1825-95) was an early advocate of the theories of Charles Darwin and helped spread Darwinian views to the scientific community and the public in general. Roberts probably refers to Huxley's *Evidence of Man's Place in Nature*.

I am willing to share with Pres. M[organ] any responsibility but thought that was putting on us [a] rather heavy [burden] and so far as I was concerned did not wish to take any such responsibility; and suggested to him that if the majority of the Saints and of the Authorities aside from Pres. Taylor & Cannon — were not in favor of sending more Elders and Pres. Taylor would not take the responsibility of sending them don't let us assume the responsibility of doing so.

I suggested 1st That every elder who is called be informed that if he came to South on a mission he did so at the risk of losing his life — that his friends be informed also to this effect and then if he lacked backbone to come or his friends and relatives did not wish him to come that he be excused.

2[n]d That we write to every elder now in the Mission & lay the matter before him in the same light + if he could not stand it then have him return home at once: that[,] in my opinion, would throw the responsibility where it belonged — upon each Elder.

Personally I asked no one to be responsible for my safety. The brethren who sent me would not be to blame if I fell in the struggle. I think each Elder should look at it in this light.

I took occasion to tell Pres. M[organ] that every Elder who came to this Mission did so at the eminent risk of losing his life — in this view Elder [J. Golden] Kimball concurred.

Received several letters from the brethren.

Continued to labor in the office from this time until the 13th of the month in getting the company of Saints ready to start to the place appointed for this gathering in Col[orado.] Nothing of particular importance occurred unless it was the curiosity excited by the gathering of the Saints to Chattanooga preparatory to their starting West. On the 12th of the month the Saints and Elders had reported — making in all about one hundred souls.

During the day a number of men on the Streets said they thought I ought to be hung, as they supposed I was the cause of these people leaving their homes for the west. Had a <inter>review with a reporter of the "Commercial": he represented me fairly.

[November 13, 1884] At 5 A.M. we had our company "all aboard" and started on our journey. Nearly all were feeling well except some children who had the hooping cough.

I was quite poorly myself, having a severe headache and about

seven o'clock had a chill followed by a high fever. At about 7 P.M. we landed at Cincinnati. Several thousand people were in and about the Depot, and learning that we were "Mormons" considerable curiosity was excited. Their mocking, scorn, and pointing of fingers put me in mind of the vision of Lehi as recorded in the Book of Mormon page 15 of old Ed[ition].

Nothing of particular importance occurred. Enroute I continued to be unwell and there fore unable to look after the welfare of the Saints so closely as I desired.

On the night of the 15th we arrived at Pueblo and here we who were going to Col[orado] Settlement parted with those enroute for Utah. We arrived at La Jara Station on the A.M. of the 16th and were met by a large company of Saints from adjacent settlements of our people who had come to assist us with the Saints we had just brought in & many had come to meet with their friends.

The baggage was all secured and loaded into wagons and the new comers distributed among the Saints in the various settlements for a season until they could secure homes of there own.

I accompanied brother [William] Christensen the P[ost] M[aster] at Manassa and counselor to Pres. S[ilas] S. Smith to Manassa where we arrived in time to attend the after noon service in the meeting house. I was glad to meet brother Silas as I have become greatly attached to him.

In answer to his request[,] I addressed the people but found a man who has lost two ~~hours~~ day's and nights sleep, and who has suffered with the chills and fever and a severe head ache was in rather sad condition to preach. I under took to explain the gradual introduction of the Gospel in this dispensation.

Another appointment was given out at night and I spoke to the Saints on the divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon, & not getting through with this subject that night a meeting was arranged for Tuesday eve[ning].

[November 17, 1884] Today I endeavored to get thoroughly rested, but all day I suffered with head ache.

[November 18, 1884] Visited among the Saints and at night filled my appointment to speak on the Book of Mormon — had good liberty.

[November 19, 1884] I went down to Richfield[, Colorado,] this A.M.

and went on a rabbit hunt with Elder [William H.] Kirby.⁴³ We caught nine rabbits and took dinner with Sister Samples. Stayed all night at [Soren] Berthelsens'.

[November 20, 1884] I was at Brother or rather Bishop [Thor] Peterson's⁴⁴ all day studying scripture and at night spoke of the Book of Mormon, but did not introduce the same train of reasoning as I did when speaking on the same subject at Manassa. The Subject is intensely interesting to me and the amount of evidence one can bring forth to prove its Divine Authenticity is considerable. I have always observed when speaking on this subject I have enjoyed great liberty of the spirit perhaps more so than when speaking on any other subject.

[November 21, 1884] In the Afternoon a brother [Hans C.] Heiselt⁴⁵ drove over from the settlement of Ephraim[, Colorado] in his carriage to take me to that villiage as I had sent an appointment over a day or two ago.

Elder Kirby accompanied me and we had some sport shooting at hares, but unfortunately we caught but one.

Our meeting was very well attended and after Elder Kirby and a brother by the name of Hays had spoken. I addressed the meeting on the first principles of the Gospel.

[November 22, 1884] Elder Golden Kimball arrived to day with three families of Saints from the South. These families had come from Tennessee — West Tenn[essee] — and the boat being delayed several days on account of low water they failed to make connection with the main company of Saints, therefore Elder Kimball was dropped out of the main company to wait their coming to Shawneetown Ill[inois].⁴⁶ He came through all O.K. and I was glad to meet him.

⁴³ Kirby served in the southern states, 1883-84.

⁴⁴ Thor N. Peterson was born in 1839 in Denmark. He married Maren Svendsen (1828-92) in 1859 in Denmark and immigrated to the United States. In 1880 he was called by President John Taylor to colonize the San Luis Valley, where Peterson became the first bishop in Richfield, Colorado. He died in 1921 in Sanford, Colorado.

⁴⁵ Hans Christian Heiselt was born in 1835 in Hjørring, Denmark. He married Larsine Larsen (1835-1900) in 1860 at sea and Nicolene Hansen (1853-1950) in 1906 in Salt Lake City. Heiselt was a member of the San Luis Stake High Council and died in 1928 in Sanford, Colorado.

⁴⁶ The county seat of Gallatin County in southeastern Illinois.

After seeing that these saints were cared for Brother Berthelsen provided Elder K[imball] with a horse and together we rode to Manassa. Took supper with Pres. S. S. Smith. After which I went over and spent the night with a brother [Martin] Christensen⁴⁷ who is Supt. of S[unday] School. We passed a pleasant eve[ning] & according to Bro. C[hristensen]'s views there was a little neglect on the part of the brethren of the authorities to establish some plan by which the poor could better provide themselves with homes.

I could see that after[ward] Brother C[hristensen] was a little uneasy in his mind but [that] he had done wrong in complaining of the brethren of the Authorities. And indeed this is dangerous ground, that is to complain of those in authority in the Priesthood but then I think Bro. C[hristensen] was right about the lack of interest in planing for the poor, and I hope the brethren will wake up to a sense of their responsibilty.

[November 23, 1884] This A.M. I was so ill that I could not get up. The pain in my head which has troubled me ever since I left Chattanooga became so severe that I was nearly wild. About eleven o'clock it became much easier and I arose.

Elder Kimball & Pres. S[mith] came in about this time and after conversing with them for a while I complied with Pres. S[mith]'s request to go to dinner with him as my cloathing was at his place and I wanted to change.

By this arrangement I missed eating at Brother Christensen's as I went there after supper, was unable to eat breakfast, and I went a way just at dinner time ~~unthoughtedly~~ without think[ing] that I might give offense. My course did make Sister C[hristensen] think I was afraid to eat Danish food, but this was not the case as she is quite neat in her house keeping and I have a very high opinion of the Danish Saints. I have found them intelligent, industrious, sympathetic and generally neat. I made it all right with Sister C[hristensen] by explaining myself and telling them it was unintentional.

In the afternoon Elder K[imball] occupied most of the time in interesting remarks of an encouraging nature, and I followed on the nature of the Word of God [and al]so compared [it] with the

⁴⁷ Jens Martin Christensen was born in 1843 in Denmark. He married Maren Johanne Rasmussen (1838-1923) in 1866 in Mount Pleasant, Utah, and was superintendent of the Sunday schools in Manassa, Colorado, from 1883 through 1894. He died in 1908 in Murray, Utah.

works of man. At night another meeting was held and I spoke on Priesthood Elder K[imball] following in testimony.

[November 24, 1884] Elder K[imball] and myself bid good bye to the Saints in Manassa this eve[ning] but on reaching Richfield we learned that a letter had been received from a Mr. Stanger to the effect that he had seven thousand acres of land lying east of our settlement of Richfield that he would sell to the Saints at [a] reasonable price & on long times, though a part must be paid down. This was an important matter, and therefore on Tuesday we returned to Manassa. This evening we held a meeting at Richfield and Elder K[imball] spoke first, I followed. Meeting lasted two hours and a splendid spirit prevailed.

[November 25, 1884] As stated above today we returned to Manassa and laid this land matter before Pres. S[mith] & it was arranged that I should present the matter to Pres. Taylor through Elder Morgan. This arranged we returned to Richfield & from thence to La Jara[, Colorado,] where at 5 P.M. We took train for Pueblo.

[November 26, 1884] I took leave of Elder K[imball] to day, he going east enroute for Chattanooga, I going West to my home.

[November 27, 1884] I arrived in Salt Lake at 4-30 P.M. and stayed all night at the residence of Pres. John Morgan to whom I reported all my labors. He appeared well satisfied with all I had done. What pleasure there is in receiving the approbation of those under whose direction we are appointed to labor, and Oh, how great will be the pleasure of those who return to our Father in heaven and shall find their course of life approved of Him! and hear it said unto them well done good and faithful Servant enter into the joy of thy Lord.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Roberts's biographer, Truman Madsen, mentions that "while Roberts was in Utah, John Morgan was assigned to return to preside over the Southern States Mission, and his young associate was released." Although Madsen dates this to the late summer of 1885 and dates Roberts's YMMIA mission with Junius F. Wells to the fall of that year, the first entries of the next diary, beginning in January 1885, show that Roberts was already accompanying Junius Wells on the YMMIA mission. One has to assume from this, as well as from the tone of finality in the current diary entry, that Roberts was released from his mission to the southern states on 27 November 1884. See *Defender*, 159-161.

V.
Travels in Central Utah

1885

[January 26, 1885] This A.M. I left home for the purpose of visiting the Southern Counties of Utah in the interests of the "Contributor" a monthly Magazine representing the interests of the Y[oung] M[en's] Ass[ociation].¹

I was to receive seventy five dollars (\$75.00) per month. Expected to hold meeting at Farmer's Ward² but owing to some misunderstanding our ap[pointmen]t came in contact with other arrangements and we received a telephone message not to come — took sleigh-ride with [B]ro. Junius Wells,³ and spent the eve[ning] with him until after one o'clock talking on doctrine etc.

¹ Truman G. Madsen explains that Roberts and Junius F. Wells were called as "missionaries for the Young Men's association of the Church." In addition to bolstering the ranks of young men participating in the organization, the two missionaries were to sell subscriptions to the association's magazine, the *Contributor*. See Madsen's *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 160. As previously mentioned, Madsen misdates this to late 1885.

² Organized in 1877, the "Farmer's ward" was a few miles south of the Salt Lake City limits.

³ Junius Free Wells established the *Contributor* magazine in 1879. He was born 1 June 1854 in Salt Lake City to Daniel H. and Hannah C. Wells, served a mission to England from 1872 through 1874, and after returning from his mission was called by Brigham Young to establish the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association. He married Helena Middleton Forbes (1854-?) in 1879 in Salt Lake City. He also served as Assistant Church Historian beginning in 1921. He died in 1930.

[January 27, 1885] Bro. Junius [Wells] went to Ogden⁴ to meet Pres. Taylor & party who had been on an extended trip South & west. I went to the Masonic Library⁵ and spent the A.M. & in the afternoon brother Ghresham [Gershom] Wells⁶ drove me to East Mill Creek Ward⁷ where I was expected to lecture. Stopped at the residence of Bishop John Neff⁸ a very genial & entertaining man.

Our ap[pointmen]t had not reached this point until this A.M. & in consequence of this the room was cold, dimly lighted & a large number of the young people had gone to a neighboring village to attend a party therefore our meeting was not very interesting. Stayed with Bishop Neff.

[January 28, 1885] This A.M. a brother Kevan L. Morris took me in his sleigh around East Mill Creek and for the first time in my life I canvassed for books — or in fact for anything.⁹ I had a varied experience[,] meeting with some apostates who I strove to encourage — but the spirit had left them.

Riding along at a trot one of the sleigh runners struck <a rock> & I was thrown out of the conveyance, but was uninjured.

This afternoon at the request of brother Daniel Kimball¹⁰ — son of H[eber] C. [Kimball] — accompanied Bishop Neff to administer

⁴ Ogden, the county seat of Weber County, is approximately forty miles north of Salt Lake City and was an important railroad center.

⁵ The Masonic Library was located on the top floor of a bank building at 163 S. Main Street in Salt Lake City.

⁶ Twenty-year-old Gershom Britain Finley Wells was born in 1864 in Liverpool, England, to Daniel H. and Hannah C. Wells. His father was second counselor to church president Brigham Young at the time. Gershom married Ellen Leaver Sheets (ca. 1864-99) in 1891 and died in 1944.

⁷ The East Mill Creek ward, organized in 1877, was located in the southeastern part of Salt Lake Valley. The first bishop of the ward was John Neff.

⁸ John Neff was born in 1837 in Strasburg, Pennsylvania. He married Ann Eliza Benedict (1845-1930) in 1863; served a mission to Great Britain, 1872-73; was bishop of the East Mill Creek ward, 1877-1912; and later became a stake patriarch. He died in 1918 in Salt Lake City.

⁹ By "canvassing," Roberts means selling door-to-door or "tracting." He was selling subscriptions to the *Contributor* magazine but also perhaps books published by the Contributor Office and the Juvenile Instructor Office. In three years, for instance, Roberts's *The Gospel: An Exposition of Its First Principles* would be published by the Contributor Company.

¹⁰ Daniel Heber Kimball was born in 1856 to Heber C. and Ann Alice Gheen Kimball. His father was an apostle and member of the First Presidency. Daniel married Joan Okleberry (1853-99) in 1875 and Mary Alice Britt (1875-1955) in 1900. He died in 1936 in Salt Lake City.

to his sister. We had a pleasant time & I think the spirit of the Lord accompanied us in the adminestiration.

At night I was taken by Bishop Neff & brother [Amos Neff]¹¹ — sister Neff accompanying us — to Mill Creek ward¹² where we were cordially received by brother Levi P. Helm¹³ Pres[ident] of the Y[oung] M[ens] Ass[ociation]. We addressed our remarks to the Youth of Israel — and the Spirit of the Lord rested down upon us & I enjoyed great freedom. And unto thee O, father in heaven I ascribe all praise and glory: help me to walk in the light of Thy Spirit is all I desire — Went home with brother Neff Helm.

[January 29, 1885] Brother Helm hitched up a fine team and took me around the ward.

We had a very pleasant time and had good success in my work canvassing for the Contributor.

In the eve[ning] he took me to the house of Elder Francis McDonald.¹⁴ At whose house several parties were hiding from the hirings of the law who are prompted to persecute — not prosecute — the Saints.¹⁵ “How long O Lord how Long?”¹⁶ May the day soon

¹¹ John's older brother was Amos Herr Neff, born in Strasburg, Pennsylvania, in 1825. He married Martha Ann Dilworth (1826-62) in 1848, Catherine Elizabeth Thomas (1843-1917) in 1875, and Eliza Anne Hughes (1854-1915) in 1875, all in Salt Lake City. He is listed in the 1880 census as a farmer living with his wife, Catherine, in East Mill Creek, where he died in 1914. Which (and whose) wife is implied by “Sister Neff” is unclear.

¹² Organized in 1848, the Mill Creek ward was one of the earliest and largest in the Salt Lake Valley. It was located in the southeastern part of the valley.

¹³ Levi Philipp Helm was born in 1851 in Ohio. He married Viola J. Ward (1856-1935) in 1886. A farmer and stockman, he also served in the Utah legislature in 1887 and became president of the San Luis stake in Colorado. He died in 1934 in Murray, Utah.

¹⁴ Francis McDonald was born in 1851 in Scotland. He married Zenobia Anderson (1847-1904) in 1870 in Salt Lake City. A few weeks after Roberts's diary entry, on 4 March, McDonald married Emily Rozella Stevenson (1865-1946). He lived in the Salt Lake area with his wives until his 1920 death in Holladay, Utah.

¹⁵ Some of the leading brethren of the church had begun to hide on what would come to be known as “the underground”—safe houses where they avoided detection by federal marshals and arrest for polygamy. Church president John Taylor was in California when he “received word that federal officials had ordered his arrest, but returned to Salt Lake City January 27, 1885. On February 1, he preached his last public sermon, ... [and] that night he disappeared from public view and went into hiding” (Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, *A Book of Mormons* [Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1982], 358). See the entry in this diary for 6 Feb. 1885.

¹⁶ The quotation is from Psalm 13:1-4 (Douay-Rheims Version; a paraphrase of

come O my father when thy Servants will be free to serve thee without restraint.

A[t] Big Cotton Wood [ward]¹⁷ I spoke on the Mission of Joseph Smith. I enjoyed good liberty for which I am truly great full. Met up with several Elders who labored in the Southern States, Elders C[harles] M. Nokes, [Reynolds] Crump & [James] Taylor. Went home with brother Taylor, nephew to Pres. John Taylor.

[January 30, 1885] Brother [blank in original] Stout took me with a sleigh through the settlement & we were quite successful in our canvass. In the afternoon I went to a gathering of the Saints at the house of brother Jas. A. Taylor where I met for the first time brother W[illia]m Taylor,¹⁸ brother to Pres. Taylor, Hosea Stout,¹⁹ Milo Andrus.²⁰ We had a very agreeable time & at eve[ning] [blank in original] Stout took me to South Cottonwood²¹ where I learned that a dance threw out my ap[pointmen]t. Called upon one of my old traveling companion[s] Louis Kelsch with whom I went to the party. Towards its close I danced twice, but I felt very gloomy indeed.

the King James Version), expressed variously in the Book of Mormon (Alma 14:26) and Doctrine and Covenants (121:3) and popularized in the literature of the day (e.g., Mark Twain, "How Long, O Lord, How Long," *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise*, 22 Dec. 1865, at www.twainquotes.com).

¹⁷ The Big Cottonwood ward was located a little farther south and east of the previously mentioned wards.

¹⁸ William Taylor was born in 1823 in Hale, England. He was called to the 2nd Quorum of Seventy in 1845. He married Lavina Chandler (1822-57) in 1846 and Jane Mallet (1834-97) in 1855, both in Salt Lake City; served a mission to Europe, 1852-55; and settled in Cottonwood in 1862. He died in 1910 in Holladay, Utah.

¹⁹ Hosea Stout was born in 1810 in Danville, Kentucky. He was baptized into the LDS church in Missouri in 1838 and became an active defender of the church and Joseph Smith there and later in Nauvoo, Illinois, where he served as clerk of the Nauvoo High Council and as a member of the Nauvoo Legion. Stout married Louisa Taylor (1819-53) in 1840, Lucretia Fisher and Marinda Bennett in 1845, Alvira Wilson (1844-?) in 1855, and Sarah Cox in 1868. Hosea came to Utah in 1848 and became a political and church office holder. He died in 1889 in Holladay, Utah.

²⁰ Milo Andrus was born in 1814 in New York. He converted to Mormonism and was a policeman in Nauvoo, Illinois, before coming to Utah in 1850. He married Abigail Jane Dailey (b. 1815) in 1833 and then married nine other women between 1848 and 1862: Sarah Ann Miles (b. 1818), Lucy Loomis (b. 1822), Adaline Alexander (b. 1835), Mary Ann Webster (b. 1834), Jane Lancaster Munday (b. 1832), Ann Brooks (b. 1832), Margaret Ann Boyce (b. 1840), Emma Covert (b. 1842), and Francena Lucy Tuttle (b. 1845). He served a number of church missions between 1833 and 1840 in Ohio, Great Britain, and New York, and died in 1893 in Oxford, Idaho.

²¹ An early settlement in the southeastern part of Salt Lake Valley.

[January 31, 1885] Brother Kelsch took his team this A.M. and went with me through South Cotton Wood Ward canvassing for the Contributor. [W]ere moderately successful — obtaining ten names. I suffered from severe head ache all day. In the eve[n]ing several brethren went with me to Union Fort.²² But owing to the bishop not receiving brother Well's letter no ap[pointmen]t was given out + so I met with another disappointment.

[February 1, 1885] Attended services at the South Cotton Wood Ward. Met there Elders Morris and McGhee. [O]ccupied part of the time & they the remainder of the time. The subjects treated upon for the most part was the Present Condition of the Saints. Bishop [Joseph S.] Rawlins²³ followed with a few appropriate remarks in the same line.

Bros. W[illiam] Atwood²⁴ & Louis Kelsch took me in a carriage to West Jordan²⁵ — Called upon our old friend D[aniel] R. Bateman.²⁶ The little church house was packed full + I had good liberty of Spirit: Bid good-bye to my kind friends Kelsch & Atwood. Stayed all Night with Dan[iel] Bateman's father [Samuel].

[February 2, 1885] Alonzo Merritt²⁷ accompanied me in canvasing West Jordan. We went on foot in the fore noon & in the after noon in a carriage. Had very good success. At night bro. S[amuel] Bateman drove me over to North Jordan where another crowded house greeted me — spoke on the Mission of Joseph Smith. Went home with Joseph Harker²⁸ one of Utah's old settlers.

²² Union Fort was an important, somewhat diverse community in the southeastern part of the valley.

²³ Joseph Sharp Rawlins was born in 1823 in Carlton, Illinois. He married Mary Frost (1827-1917) in 1844, Nancy Jane Frost (1823-?) in 1845, and Hannah Stringfellow (1837-96) in 1865. He was bishop of the South Cottonwood ward from 1871 until his death in 1900.

²⁴ William Atwood was born in 1839 in Dunkirk, New York. He married Laura Augusta Wade (1849-68) in 1867 and her sister Sarah Jane Wade (1850-1915) in 1868, both in Salt Lake City. Atwood died in 1923 in Murray, Utah.

²⁵ Roberts is now on the west side of Salt Lake Valley.

²⁶ Bateman had served with Roberts in the Southern States Mission.

²⁷ Samuel Alonzo Merritt was born in 1866 in West Jordan, Utah. He married Mary Alice Miles (1865-1946) in 1887 in Rockport, Utah. He died in 1922 in Bedford, Wyoming.

²⁸ Joseph Harker was born in 1818 in England. He married Susannah Sneath

[February 3, 1885] Having heard that Pres. [William] Smith's name was on the list against whom indictments would be found, I resolved to return home and notify him, as well as to take steps for the protection of another.²⁹ Wrote to Pres. Morgan asking that Jos[eph] Smith in V[irgini]a be released. Arriving home I found Pres. Smith[,] told him what I had learned etc.

Night's work.

[February 4, 1885] Louisa had a few of the neighbors come in to help her sew; had a very pleasant time. Spent the eve[ning] visiting etc.

[February 5, 1885] Arrived in Salt Lake City this A.M. only to find that brother Wells had canceled my engagement at Lehi³⁰ & therefore could do nothing until Sunday — did not see brother Wells until late in the day & therefore could not return home. Went to the [Salt Lake] Theatre — Saw [Oliver and Kate] Byron in Ten Thousand miles away.³¹

[February 6, 1885] Took train this morning for home. Found that my father-in law — Pres. W[illia]m R. Smith, had to keep out of the way as it was supposed that the officers were after him for unlawful Cohabitation. The Saints have received a commandment from the Lord through the prophet Joseph Smith, to practice Plural Marriage as Abraham, Jacob, David and others did; but the Government of the U.S. declares this practice to be a crime, and have enacted laws to punish those who dare practice this part of this reli-

(1821-1906) in 1841, Eliza Ann Smith (1815-95) in 1852, Elizabeth Birch (1830-97) in 1868, and Phebe Thacker (1818-?) in 1870. He died in 1896 in Taylorsville, Utah.

²⁹ Roberts is no doubt referring to his plural wife Celia. The Joseph Smith referred to in this paragraph was the brother of Roberts's first wife, Louisa Smith, and son of stake president William R. Smith, against whom the indictment was issued. See diary entries for 10 Aug., 1-16 Oct. 1883; 6 Feb. 1885.

³⁰ Lehi is located at the north end of Utah Valley and midway between Salt Lake City and Provo, adjacent to American Fork.

³¹ *Ten Thousand Miles Away* was the "realistic drama of American and Australian life in 5 acts," a sequel to the better known *Across the Continent* by Oliver Doud Byron (1842-1920). Byron was an actor who managed his own touring group, the "Famous Byron Combination," which included his wife, Mary Kate Crehan Byron, their son Arthur, and other family members. The *Deseret News*, 6 February 1885, reported that the performance Roberts attended drew "a fair sized audience" and that "frequently long and deafening applause was provoked."

gion. Some cases are barred by the statute of limitations and cannot be punished for polygamy, but nearly all who have entered in to that order of marriage can be prosecuted for unlawful cohabitation and therefore my father-in-law had to keep out of the way.

The federal officials are very active in hunting for those whom they suspect of being guilty of obeying this one of God's laws, while the libertine & whore-monger are unmolested. Improper means are employed to detect the suspects even contemptable spies dog the footsteps of honorable men. And my father-in law was among the number. Spent the day writing my 4th article on Celestial Marriage & the Acts of Congress. at ³²

[February 7, 1885] Went to Salt Lake City this A.M. but failed to see brother J[unius] Wells and he neglected to leave any word for me. Called at Pres. Morgan's where I took dinner. Attended meeting for about one hour in the large Tabernacle. An Elder [W. B.] Burton occupied the time while I was present — left before meeting was dismissed in order to meet the train going South. The seats usually occupied by the brethren of the Authorities were vacant, and I have seldom experienced such a feeling of gloom & sadness.

Took train for American Fork.³³ As I stepped to the platform I asked a number of men where I would find the Bishop's residence, they refused to tell me as they took me for a deputy Marshall, but referred me to a man standing some distance a way who pointed the house to me.

On going to the house I was again taken for a Marshall, but when I told them who I was I was readily admitted. Soon after Bishop [William] Bromley³⁴ came in. I found him a very interesting man as he it was who succeeded in opening the gospel door to the

³² Roberts refers to a six-part series on this topic in the *Contributor* between November 1884 and April 1885.

³³ Adjacent to Lehi, some twenty-five miles south of Salt Lake City. Roberts will be in Utah Valley for the next ten days.

³⁴ William Michael Bromley was born in 1839 and appears in Utah in 1853. He married Elizabeth Roylance (1842-97) in 1859, Rosenia Singleton (1850-1918) in 1869, Caroline Whiting (1853-1927) in 1879, and then two women on the same day in 1887—Beulah Chapman (1862-1935) and Ellen D. Gemmell (1839-1910). In 1886-87 he served a six-month sentence in the Utah territorial prison and paid a \$300 fine for unlawful cohabitation. He filled several church missions to Great Britain and New Zealand. He died in 1911 in American Fork, Utah.

Maories. The meeting house was crowded at night and I enjoyed good liberty. I addressed myself to the Youth of Israel.

[February 8, 1885] Today I canvassed part of the town — and at noon I went to Pleasant Grove³⁵ — Met with a brother [James] Thorne[,]³⁶ Pres[ident] of the Y[oung] M[ens] Ass[ociation] and made arrangements to speak at that settlement on Wednesday night. Returned to Am[erican] Fork stayed all night with brother Henry Miller³⁷ one of our Southern States Elders whom I had met in South Carolina. During the eve[ning] saw Henry Chipman³⁸ & a brother Hunter, Joseph I believe, son of bishop Ed[ward] Hunter.³⁹ Henry Chipman was the captain of the ox-train in which I and Sister Mary Sister Mary and I crossed the plains for the Missouri River in 1866 — We spent a very pleasant eve[ning] in relating incidents of those times and missionary experiences.

[February 9, 1885] Brother H[enry] Miller accompanied me in canvassing until noon when I took train to Provo where I met brother B[enjamin] Cluff⁴⁰ for the first time. Also made the acquaintance of brother K[arl] G. Maeser⁴¹ Principle of the B[righam] Y[oung] Academy. Attended the Priest-hood meeting held in the Theologi-

³⁵ Pleasant Grove is a few miles south of American Fork.

³⁶ James Thomas Thorne was born in 1855 in Pleasant Grove, Utah. He married Harriett Nancy Farnsworth (1856-1920) in 1876 and Minetta Permelia Brown (1866-1962) in 1885, both in Salt Lake City. He served a mission in the southern states, 1885-1888, and died in 1910 in Shelly, Idaho.

³⁷ Henry Miller was born in 1845 in Nauvoo, Illinois. He married Caroline Nelson (1857-1940) in 1878 in Salt Lake City. On 8 June 1882, he was set apart for a mission to the southern states by Apostle Wilford Woodruff. Miller died in 1923 in American Fork, Utah.

³⁸ William Henry Chipman was the captain of the church train that brought Roberts and his sister to Utah in 1866. He was born in 1833 in Canada and married Martha Selinda Smith (1836-58) and Eliza Filcher (1840-78) in 1855, both in American Fork, and Sarah Binns (1842-1930) in 1861 in Salt Lake City. He died in 1891 in American Fork.

³⁹ Three of Hunter's sons—Oscar, William, and Rodolph—lived in the area. Roberts was apparently mistaken on the name.

⁴⁰ Benjamin Cluff Jr. (1858-1948) was an instructor at Brigham Young Academy when he met Roberts. In 1892 he succeeded Karl G. Maeser as principal (later president) of Brigham Young Academy and served in that position until December 1903.

⁴¹ Karl G. Maeser (1828-1901) was in his ninth year as principal of Brigham Young Academy when he met Roberts and served until 1892 when he resigned to become Superintendent of Church Education, a position he held until his death.

cal department of the Academy every Tuesday afternoon. Was much pleased to witness this part of the proceedings. Excellent order was maintained. Being asked to speak to the students I did so under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Took the eve[ning] train for Springville⁴² and stayed at brother Philo Dibble's. He is a man who obeyed the gospel in the fall of 1830 about six months after the Church was organized, and has been through nearly all the persecutions of the Saints in M[issouri] & Ill[inois].⁴³ Met Celia here also & enjoyed her society.

[February 10, 1885] Met with brother John Hafen⁴⁴ this A.M. & with him visited W[illia]m Crandall⁴⁵ Pres. of the Y[oung] M[ens] A[ssociation] and made arrangements to speak at Springville on Friday eve[ning]. Returned to Pleasant Grove. When we arrived at the depot a young wom[a]n stepped off the train with a babe — very young — in her arms. Her trunk was put off the train, and I could see that she was distressed. I stepped up to her and she asked me if I knew where an acquaintance of hers lived whom she named — brother Thorne who had come to meet me at the depot told her the person she asked for lived some two miles away. We carried her luggage and babe for her up town to another friends place where she would stop for a while. I am assured that this lady, or sister, was one of those who have to flee because she dared to obey the commandment of the Lord — these are hunted as the hart on the mountain for becoming the honorable wife of a man who had more than one wife, and a virtuous mother — while the strumpet can unmolested and unblushingly walk the streets and not excite ire of these zealous executors of the law. Had a good meeting.

[February 11, 1885] Brother Thorne accompanied me in my canvass to day and we were reasonably successful, the people being pleased to see me. In the eve[ning] went to Provo. Met at the station

⁴² A small town in Utah Valley some twenty-five miles south of American Fork and immediately south of Provo.

⁴³ Philo Dibble Sr. (1806-95) was the grandfather of Celia Dibble, Robert's second wife.

⁴⁴ John Hafen was a seventy-year-old gardener living in Payson, Utah County, with his sixty-nine-year-old wife, Elizabeth.

⁴⁵ William Crandall was a twenty-nine-year-old freighter living in Springville, Utah County, with his father and mother and four siblings.

W[illia]m Bean, one of our Southern State missionaries. I took supper at Pres. [Abraham] Smoot's.⁴⁶ [T]he meeting-house was crowded & I enjoyed great liberty of the spirit. Brother Bean had to attend a High council trial, but Sister [Olive] Bean, one of Pres. Smoot's daughters, took me home and I was surprised at her intilligence and her powers of conversation. I enjoyed her association as also the company of sister Hardy, his [Smoot's] sister.

[February 12, 1885] Brother John Holdaway⁴⁷ who had been ap-[ointed] to go with me in my canvass was taken sick & asked to be excused. Elder J. J. Fuller,⁴⁸ one of our Elders who had labored in the Southern States & who had been whipped by a mob for the Gospel's sake, went with me in his stead.⁴⁹ We canvassed the 1st & 4th wards & obtained thirty one subscribers, & made very many new friends.

In the eve[n]ing went on to Springville. I had taken my large valise from the D[enver] & R[i]o G[rande] express office & went over to the Central office & when the train came along I stepped on the train leaving my valise on the platform — this was one of Henry's peculiar characteristics.⁵⁰

Our meeting at night was well attended — & by all classes. There are many apostates & gentiles in this place, but all paid good attention. Stayed all night at Pres. [William] Crandall's.

⁴⁶ Abraham O. Smoot (1815-95) was the stake president in Utah Valley from 1868 through 1895 and the first president of the Brigham Young Academy board of trustees. In 1834, he accompanied David W. Patten, Warren Parrish, and Wilford Woodruff to Tennessee as the first LDS missionaries in that state (see Andrew Jensen, Assistant Church Historian, *Conference Report: The Ninety-fifth Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, April 1925, 107).

⁴⁷ John Madison Holdaway was born in 1854 in Provo, Utah. At this time, he was living with his four children and wife, Jane Peterson Gillespie Holdaway (1852-1928), whom he married in 1870. He died in 1930 in Provo.

⁴⁸ Jesse Johnson Fuller was born in 1835 in Stockholm, New York. He married Hillyette Atkins (1837-?) in 1856 and Nancy Isabelle Wall (1845-1933) in 1863 in Provo, Utah. He was set apart for a mission to the southern states on 4 September 1882 by Apostle George Q. Cannon. Fuller died in 1906 in Provo.

⁴⁹ This may be one of the missionaries Roberts refers to when he remembers that elders in "Tennessee, Georgia, and Mississippi were ... taken from their lodgings at night, tied up to trees, and cruelly beaten with hickory rods. In one case they were beaten with heavy halter straps by mobs who seemed to take courage from the mob violence that had operated at [C]ane Creek" (Gary James Bergera, ed., *The Autobiography of B. H. Roberts* [Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990], 156).

⁵⁰ Roberts, called Henry as a boy, refers to himself here in third person.

[February 13, 1885] Brother John Hafen went with me in canvassing obtained 26 subscribers. Visited the Pres[ident] of the Y[oung] L[adies] Ass[ociation],⁵¹ Anna Friel⁵² one of the most intelligent ladies I ever met & one whose conversation was nearly perfect & whose modesty was simply charming — she had a sister who was the lady as much admired by Landon Rich now in V[irginia].⁵³ Stayed at brother [Philo] Dibbles.

[February 15, 1885] Brother Godfrey Hafen took me in a carriage to Payson⁵⁴ arriving there at twelve o'clock. Attended the Sabbath school in the afternoon — more than 500 scholars were in attendance & some 85 teachers.

What a fine opportunity these brethren have to do good!

Met with Elder [John] Fairbanks⁵⁵ & [J. L.] Townsend.⁵⁶ Went to the latter's house where we ate nuts & candies. Meeting largely attended — good spirit.

Went home with I. M. Coom[b]s⁵⁷ — a traveling companion of P[arley] P. Pratt.

Elder Fairbanks accompanied me in my canvass met with

⁵¹ In 1869 a Young Ladies' Cooperative Retrenchment Association was created "to promote habits of order, thrift, industry, and charity," according to Leonard Arrington, and in 1877 changed its name to the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association to correspond to the name of the young men's group, the YMMIA, which was founded in 1875. See Leonard J. Arrington, "Blessed Damzels: Women in Mormon History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 6 (Summer, 1971): 24; Elaine Anderson Cannon, "Young Women," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 4:1,616-19.

⁵² Roberts refers to Hannah Friel, the twenty-one-year-old daughter of Mary Friel, living in Springville with her mother and seven siblings.

⁵³ Probably Hannah's twenty-five-year-old sister, Mary Friel. Landon Rich was a missionary from Centerville, Utah, serving in Virginia. See diary entry for August 16, 1883.

⁵⁴ Approximately fifteen miles southwest of Springville.

⁵⁵ A missionary companion of Roberts in the southern states, 1881-83. See diary entry for September 20, 1883.

⁵⁶ J. L. Townsend was a thirty-five-year-old druggist living in Payson with his twenty-eight-year-old wife, Alta, and their two young children.

⁵⁷ Isaiah Moses Coombs was born in 1834 in Columbia, Illinois. He was baptized into the LDS church in 1852, married Sarah A. Turk (1858-?) in 1854, and in 1855 came to Utah where he became a school teacher. As Roberts indicates, he accompanied Parley P. Pratt on his missions to the South in 1856-57. Returning to Utah, Coombs married Fanny McLean (1842-85) in 1858 and Charlotte Augusta Hardy (1851-1913) in 1875, and then served a mission to Great Britain, 1875-76. He died in 1886 in Payson.

Henry G. Boyle⁵⁸ one of the prominent missionaries of the South. He has labored many years and seems to be a very geniel gentleman. Godfrey Hafen took me in his carriage to Santaquin⁵⁹ where at seven P.M. I address[ed] a large audience in the Ward house and the Lord blessed me with his spirit. Stayed at John M. Holdaway's[,] Brother Hafen staying with me.

[February 17, 1885] The pres[ident] of the Y[oung] M[ens] Ass[ociation] went with me in my canvass. His name Alonzo Wall.⁶⁰ The people complained of hard times & quite a number had not settled for Vol. 5 & therefore did not wish to subscribe for the next year — nor did I urge them to do so, under the circumstances. Took 8 orders. In the afternoon was taken in a wagon to Goshen⁶¹ where I spent the afternoon in composing a few verses of Ryhme. My muse is a coquetish hussy & somewhat lazy. She comes now and then only and I am not proud of her when she does come. Furthermore, she only comes when I am down cast and lonely. At night the little school-house was crowded, but I felt heart-sick and weak. The Spirit of the Lord came to my assistance and I spoke for nearly two hours with good liberty. At the close the people gave me a vote of thanks to the amount of 6 dollars.

[February 18, 1885] Was taken by the Pres[ident's] 1st consellor [David John]⁶² to Santaquin where I took train to Mona,⁶³ Juab county.

I stayed all afternoon at a brother Ed. Kay's⁶⁴ & wrote part of my 5th Article on Celestial Marriage & Acts of Congress. At Night I

⁵⁸ Boyle served as president of the Southern States Mission, 1875-1878.

⁵⁹ Seven miles southwest of Payson.

⁶⁰ Alonzo Edward Wall was born in 1859 in Manti, Utah. He married Sophia Duffin (1862-1918) in 1883 in Salt Lake City and died in 1947 in Mesa, Arizona.

⁶¹ Goshen is four miles west of Santaquin.

⁶² David John was born in 1833 in Pembrokehire, Wales; was baptized in 1856 and immigrated to Utah a few years later. He married Mary Wride (1831-1905) in 1860 and Jane Cree (1845-1927) in 1865. He was a counselor to stake president Abraham Smoot, 1877-95, and to Edward Partridge, 1895-1900, and then stake president himself from 1901 until his death in Provo in 1908.

⁶³ Mona is seven miles southeast of Goshen. Roberts will be in Juab Valley for the next five days.

⁶⁴ Edward Kay was a fifty-five-year-old farmer living in Mona with his fifty-three-year-old wife, Sarah, and their eight children.

was joined by bro. Thomas Crawley⁶⁵ Sup[erintendent] of the Y[oung] M[ens] A[ssociation] of the Stake. Had only a moderately good time.

[February 19, 1885] Took breakfast with the bishop[,] John M. Haws⁶⁶ at 9-30. Canvassed the place and took 19 orders. In the afternoon went to Nephi⁶⁷ & put up with Cha[rle]s Andrews one of our S[outhern] S[tates] Elders. In the after eve[ning] Brothers A[delbert] Cazier and [James] Jenkins both Elders whose acquaintance I had formed in at the South. In the stand at the meeting tonight were six Elders all of whom had filled honorable missions. A good audience were present & I had good liberty of the Spirit. At the close I was introduced to a goodly number of people — as well as to meet two families from the South & one man who had known my father — of whom I shall speak more.

[February 20, 1885] This A.M. we took carriage & drove up to [John] Cunliffe's⁶⁸ who used to be acquainted with my father; and visited with them about two hours. Took dinner with Elder Adelbert Cazier. His wife was a very fine lady as was also her sister who came in while we were eating dinner.⁶⁹ We had a very pleasant time & in the afternoon Elder Cazier & his brother Orson took me to Levan. Elder Cazier & I occupied the time but neither of us could or did not enjoy much of the Spirit. Stayed all night with a brother Petersen.

[February 21, 1885] I canvassed the village, & obtained eight subscribers for the *Contributor*. Returned by one o'clock to brother Andrews at Nephi. The afternoon brother Andrews took me in a carriage to make a few calls. We called at Eld[er] S[amuel] Jackson's

⁶⁵ Thomas Crawley was a forty-five-year-old farmer living in Nephi with his forty-one-year-old wife, Betsy, and their six children.

⁶⁶ Haws, a former southern states missionary, served as bishop of Mona from 1877 through 1886.

⁶⁷ Nephi is about twelve miles south of Mona.

⁶⁸ John Cunliffe was born in 1811 in Windle, England. He married Alice Appleton (1814-89) in 1830 in England and died in 1890 in Nephi, Utah.

⁶⁹ Adelbert Cazier (see diary entry for 14 June 1883) had two wives, one of whom, Mary Ann Parkes, had a twenty-six-year-old sister, Georgiana. Notice that in the next entry (21 February), Roberts mentions Georgiana by name and calls her "a very estimable lady."

met also Elder Jenkins: also ~~met Elder~~ called on a family by the name of Keith whom I was acquainted with in the South — Mississippi.

In the eve[ning] a social party met at the house of Eld[er Charles] Andrews⁷⁰ consisting of the S[outhern] S[tates] missionaries & their wives, we had a most agreeable time — social chat, singing & anecdotes being the order of the eve[ning]. I met here a Miss Ge[orgiana] Parkes⁷¹ a very estimable lady.

[February 22, 1885] Washington's birthday. Remained at brother Andrews this A.M. writing letter etc. One to Louisa. Took dinner at Elder [James] Jenkins.⁷² The meeting house was crowded this afternoon and I enjoyed good liberty of the Spirit until towards the close of my remarks. The reason of it withdrawing to some extent then was because I made a error. After meeting accompanied bro. Andrews to his father's [John Andrews] place where I made the old gentleman's acquaintance — also met with sister [Sophronia] Taylor — mother of Apostle J[ohn] W. Taylor & wife of Pres. J[ohn] Taylor.

Attended meeting in the eve[ning]. Two Missionaries from Mona occupied part of the time, I the rest; and I never enjoyed better liberty.

[February 23, 1885] Called at the house of Pres. [William] Paxman⁷³ & made the acquaintance of one of his families. Receiving no mail from Sanpete⁷⁴ the brethren insisted on having an other social party in the eve[ning]. Took dinner at Eld[er] Sam[uel] Jackson[']s,⁷⁵ and in the afternoon composed the following⁷⁶ —

⁷⁰ Andrews served in the southern states, 1881-82.

⁷¹ Georgiana Angelina Parkes was born in 1858 in Derby, England. A few months after meeting Roberts on 25 December 1885, she married Alma S. Kendall (1851-1933) in Salt Lake City. She died in 1936 in Nephi, Utah.

⁷² Jenkins served in the southern states from 1881 through 1883.

⁷³ William Paxman was born in 1836 in England. He married Ann Keyes (1830-1919) in 1855 in London and Sarah M. Moody (1859-1938) in 1880 in Salt Lake City. Paxman was the Juab Stake president from 1883 until his death, and he served as president of the Australasian Mission, 1886-1889. He died in 1897 in American Fork, Utah.

⁷⁴ Sanpete County is approximately ninety miles south of Salt Lake City and is noted for its Scandinavian population.

⁷⁵ Jackson served with Roberts in the southern states, 1881-1883.

⁷⁶ See note 89 regarding Kate Chase.

Have Courage my Girl to Say Yes.
 The dark clouds of hatred are gathering
 They menace the Saints with distress
 The nation in pride is forbidding
 The Saints to obey God's behest
 Will the daughters of Zion be fearing
 To choose for the right and for God?
 With fines and imprisonments threatening
 Will they cling to the sure "Iron Rod"?

Chorous

Have the courage my girl to say Yes
 Have the courage my girl to say Yes
 If an Elder that's true
 Should come wooing to you
 Have courage my girl to say Yes.

_____ " _____
 The nations of earth are corrupting
 The fountain of life's flowing stream;
 Iniquity rank and coroding
 Is festering — yet held in esteem.
 But God had commanded his people
 T' obey laws Celestial and true
 Will the daughters of Zion be faithful
 And the trials of life bravely view.

Cho.

Better marry a man who'll be constant
 Though of wives he may have more than you
 If he's faithful to God & his cov'nant
 Be assured he'll be faithful to you
 Though of Babylon's proud wealth he can boast not
 Don't fear if his heart's only true
 The riches of earth can compare not
 With affection eternal for you.

Cho.

_____ " _____

We spent a most agreeable eve[ning] in singing dancing etc. I shall long remember my visit here and the kindness of the people

of Nephi who administered to my pleasure — they also assisted me temporally by giving me [end of sentence].

[February 24, 1885] This A.M. I took leave of my many friends among them were two daughters of Pres[ident] Paxman's and a Miss Georgiana Parkes to whom I have become warmly attached as a friend because of her many friendly and admirable qualities as a lady. Took train to Fountain Green⁷⁷ where I met with Supt. J[ohn] F. Allred⁷⁸ of Sanpete. From this point we went by carriage to Moroni⁷⁹ and put up with the Pres[ident] [of the] Y[oung] M[ens] As[sociation], Lars Olsen. Crowded house — fair liberty.

[February 25, 1885] Took only eight orders for the "Contributor". At 4 P.M. Started for Wales⁸⁰ where we arrived before dusk. Very small place but quite an audience, but did not have the best liberty. Stayed with a brother Henry Rees.⁸¹

[February 26, 1885] We stayed in the villiage this afternoon in order to attend a funeral of a bro, [John] Llewellyn.⁸² I occupied part of the time. Drove to the house of J. T. Henniger one of our S[outh-ern] States Elders. Held meeting at Chester⁸³ good turn out and I was thankful for the degree of the Spirit I enjoyed, but O, how I

⁷⁷ Fountain Green is about nineteen miles southeast of Nephi in Sanpete Valley. Roberts will be in the Sanpete area for the next nine days and perhaps longer. The diary ends with the 5 March entry, and although the next diary begins in late 1886, Truman G. Madsen reports that Roberts and Wells ultimately "visited nearly every settlement up the Utah corridor and on into Idaho—[St. George,] Cedar City, Beaver, Fillmore, Parowan, Nephi, Springville, Provo, Ogden, Brigham City, Logan, Pocatello" (Madsen, *Defender of the Faith*, 160).

⁷⁸ As Roberts notes, John F. Allred was a local school teacher. He was born in 1851 in Iowa, married Mary Keziah Bunnell (1859-1947) in 1874 and her sister Sarah Ellen Bunnell (1860-1913) in 1881, both in Salt Lake City, and died in 1918 in Spring City, Utah.

⁷⁹ Moroni is about twelve miles south of Fountain Green.

⁸⁰ Just south of Moroni.

⁸¹ Henry D. Rees was born in 1837 in Wales. He married Margaret Jenkins (1837-1912) in 1859 in Spanish Fork, Utah, and died in Wales, Sanpete County, in 1908.

⁸² As Roberts notes, Llewellyn, a seventy-two-year-old farmer, died 22 February 1885.

⁸³ Chester is immediately east of Wales.

wish I could enjoy a greater degree of it. We went on after meeting to Spring City⁸⁴ where we stayed at bro. Allreds.

[February 27, 1885] Drove through Mt. Pleasant⁸⁵ to Fairview⁸⁶ where we held meeting to a large audience pretty good liberty.

[February 28, 1885] Canvassed the town to day took 18 orders. Met with two or three Elders of the S[outhern] States mission. Took dinner with J. M. Allred.⁸⁷ A bro. G. C. Wilson⁸⁸ went with me in my canvass. I found the following verses which I composed some ten days ago when having the blues — & I supposed I had lost them. They were meant for a lady friend of mine:⁸⁹

Hail bonnie Kate o' girls the queen
Whose image haunts my mind to day.
Why is't your face will come between
All other things and me to day?

I thought to write of something wise
Of doctrines true, or laws unjust —
or better still philosephize
On man's estate & what he must
And what he must'nt do.

But something sweet would whisper Kate
and Wisdom took her flight
And left me mourning o're my fate.
A very mournful down cast weight.

⁸⁴ Spring City is immediately east of Chester.

⁸⁵ Mt. Pleasant is a few miles north of Spring City and east of Moroni.

⁸⁶ Fairview is a few miles north of Mount Pleasant.

⁸⁷ John Martin Allred was born in 1870 in Fairview, Utah. He married Lula Almira Mower (1871-1937) in 1887 in Salt Lake City and died in 1932 in Fairview.

⁸⁸ Guy Carlton Wilson was born in 1864 in Fairview, Utah. He married Elvira Elizabeth Hartsberg (1864-1951) in 1884 and then married two women in Colonia Juarez, Mexico: Agnes Melissa Stevens (1883-1965) in 1902 and Anna Lowrie Ivins (1882-1967) in 1903. He died in 1942 in Provo, Utah.

⁸⁹ Roberts probably refers to Kate Chase. In Davis County it was rumored that Chase was Roberts's plural wife, although there is no evidence to substantiate a marriage. See diary entries for 15 Oct. 1884, 8, 10 Nov. 1890.

Anon & ever would I seek
Grave's wisdom's flight to stay.
But your bright eyes & your ~~fair~~ not fair cheek
Was always in the way.

Then go dull wisdom what care I
If Kate's fair form remain
Her idea checks the rising sigh
I'll sing to her a strain

Song

O Kate you're the queen of all hearts, darling
No form in the land more bewitching
And as for your smile
Though me it bequile

I'd give worlds were they mine could I win it —
I give worlds were they mine could I win it.
Your steps like the fawn's on the mountain
Your voice like the low murmuring fountain

From the glance of your eye
I am powerless to fly
So Katie my darling have mercy
So Katie my darling have mercy.

We had a fine audience at Mt. Pleasant. I met with Elder Ed[ward] Cliff⁹⁰ who used to visit my mothers house in England where I was a lad — a child. I also met Martin Pie [Pye]⁹¹ the man with whom my mother left my oldest sister — when she went to Utah in 1862. I was glad to meet them — although brother Pie did not treat my sister altogather right or kindly.⁹²

⁹⁰ Edward Cliff was born in 1830 in Barrowden, England. He married Eliza Cresswell (1839-1916) in England in 1863 and Harriet Moore (1863-1951) in 1883 in Salt Lake City. He died in 1906 in Mount Pleasant, Utah. See also the diary entry for 15 May 1893.

⁹¹ Martin Pye was born in 1833 in Fenton, England, and married Emma Cresswell (1834-98) in 1855 in England. Apparently, Pye and Cliff were brothers-in-law. Pye died in 1891 in Mount Pleasant, Utah.

⁹² Roberts's sister Mary ("Polly") was eleven when placed with the Pye family and made to work at the family's pottery kiln. Roberts was five at the time and was placed with the John Tovey family where he worked as a "quarry sand boy" hauling water and

[March 1, 1885] This A.M. I worked on my article for the Contributor No. 5.⁹³ In the afternoon I spoke again to the people of Mt. Pleasant on the present situation of the Saints[. H]ad good liberty though I suffered greatly from hoarseness. In the eve[ning] the house was jamed. I was still hoarse but the Spirit of the Lord was with me & we had a splendid time. I spoke on the restoration of the Gospel. Elder Cyrus Wheelock⁹⁴ an old veteren was present.

[March 2, 1885] This morning I began my canvass of the town & was successful. I had many friends here & left with the kind feelings of the people.

We drove over to Spring town [Spring City] this eve[ning] putting up with bro. [John F.] Allred, whoes folks kindly had done some washing for me. I was very much fatagued & hoarse & several babies in the meeting made such a din that I almost despaired of being heard.

[March 3, 1885] I took twenty three subscribers today & in the afternoon drove to Ephraim⁹⁵ & stayed at the [home of] Pres[ident] of the Y[oung] M[ens] Ass[ociation] brother [J. P.] Hansen — fine family.⁹⁶ At our meeting met with Pres. [Christian] Fjelsted⁹⁷ of the seven Pre[ident]s of the Seventies also with Pres. [Canute] Peterson⁹⁸ of the Sanpete Stake we had a splendid audience but I was so

sand for stone finishers. Five years passed before their mother was able to send for them. See *Defender*, 7-8, 12-14.

⁹³ "Celestial Marriage and the Acts of Congress," published in the March 1885 issue of the *Contributor* magazine.

⁹⁴ Cyrus Wheelock was born in 1813 in Henderson, New York. He was baptized in 1839; settled in Nauvoo, Illinois; and served as president of the Northern States Mission, 1878-79. He died in 1894.

⁹⁵ Ephraim is about eighteen miles south of Moroni.

⁹⁶ James Jens Peter Hansen was born in 1827 in Copenhagen, Denmark. He married Benedicta Christine Jeppson (1839-1903) in 1855 in Denmark and Nicolena Marie Larsen (1843-1911) in 1874 in Salt Lake City. He was a farmer in Sanpete County and died in Ephraim in 1901.

⁹⁷ Christian D. Fjelsted (1829-1905) was sustained as one of the presidents of the First Council of Seventy on 6 April 1884.

⁹⁸ Canute Peterson was born in 1824 in Norway, came to the United States in 1837, and converted to Mormonism five years later. He served a mission to Wisconsin, 1844-45, and in 1849 moved to Utah and married Sarah Ann Nelson, Gertrude Rolfson, and Charlotte Ekstrom on unknown dates. He served another mission, this time to Scandinavia, 1871-73; became president of the Sanpete stake, serving in that

hoarse that it was very painful for me to speak. [S]till I got through all O.K.

[March 4, 1885] This A.M. brother Allred started for Moroni to get my wife Louisa as I had sent for her to join me a few days before. I expected to leave for the South immediately after Conference & I have been separated from her so much since our marriage that I dreaded the idea of leaving her after my return home a few days.⁹⁹ I canvassed during the day, & at four P.M. Louisa & Ben, our youngest boy arrived.¹⁰⁰ Both in good health. They had left the our darling Adah in good health also. We drove on to Manti¹⁰¹ where we arrived in time for eve[ning] meeting. I was so hoarse that it was only with difficulty that I could speak at all. This greatly distressed me as this was the finest audience I have had since I was at Logan or Ogden. I met Pres. [John] Maiben¹⁰² and other leading brethren.

[March 5, 1885] This A.M. a party of us went to visit the [Manti] temple.¹⁰³ It is one of the finest the Church had ever built – it would be useless to undertake to describe it so I forebear. It is simply grand[,] situated upon the point of a spur of the m[ountain] it looks over the entire Sanpete Valley & can be seen from nearly [every] settlement in the county. It is built of a light colored lime stone and the point of the hill upon which it stands is terraced with four

capacity from 1877 through 1891; and later was called to be stake patriarch. He died in 1902 in Ephraim.

⁹⁹ Even though Roberts seems to have been released as acting president of the Southern States Mission, he anticipates the possibility of returning to the South. An unstated reason was to be outside of Utah during the federal polygamy raid. In his autobiography, Roberts wrote that “through the remainder of the summer and fall, conferences were held in all the eleven states of the Southern States Mission,” giving the impression, without stating so explicitly, that he may have attended these meetings in company with Morgan, who he says was “under fire” in Utah “because of having entered into the order of plural marriage.” If Roberts accompanied Morgan, it is not clear what his capacity was. See *Autobiography*, 163.

¹⁰⁰ Benjamin Everington Roberts (1883-1954).

¹⁰¹ Manti is five miles south of Ephraim.

¹⁰² John Bray Maiben was born in 1826 in Brighton, England. He was baptized in 1848, came to Utah in 1855, and married Phoebe Elaine Richards (1824-1906) and Elizabeth Mary Richards (1821-1906) in 1855. He was bishop of Manti from 1875 through 1877, also serving in various other church and civic positions in Sanpete County. He died in 1910 in Manti.

¹⁰³ The Manti Temple was still three years away from completion but had been under construction for six years.

terriceses that give the noble building a gran[d] & unique appearance. Bro. Frank Taylor¹⁰⁴ was a son of Pres[ident] Taylor was our guide and we had a very enjoyable time. I took 23 subscribers on the plasi [plaza] or grounds. Canvassed in the afternoon & played ball about an hour. Stayed all night at the house of bro Tuttle¹⁰⁵ — pleasant eve[ning]. Canvassed this A.M. in company with bro. Madsen¹⁰⁶ after taking Louisa up to bro Frank Taylor's where we were to take dinner. [S]pent a very pleasant afternoon with bro Taylor's family, sister Taylor, his mother was present. In the eve[ning] we drove to Pettyville¹⁰⁷ where we put up with sister [Syrena] Peacock wife of the bishop of the place,¹⁰⁸ but he was not at home. We had a very good meeting & the A.M. of the 6th went about a mi[le] up the M[ountain]s.

¹⁰⁴ Frank Young Taylor was born in 1861 in Salt Lake City to John and Margaret Young Taylor—his father being the future president of the LDS church. Frank married Elizabeth Campbell (1858-1923) in May 1864 and Alice Neff (1877-1964) in 1900; was one of the architects for the Manti temple, 1882-1887; and later moved to Sugar House, a suburb of Salt Lake City, where he became president of the Granite stake. He died in 1953 in Salt Lake City.

¹⁰⁵ Tuttle was a common name in Manti.

¹⁰⁶ Again, a common surname in Manti.

¹⁰⁷ Pettyville, located between Manti and Gunnison, was later known as Sterling.

¹⁰⁸ Syrena Evans Moffitt (1858-1911) married John Lowry Peacock in 1876 in Salt Lake City. John was born in 1855 in Manti, Utah, and served as bishop of Pettyville from 1884 through 1891. He died in 1918 in Sterling, Utah.

VI.

A Fugitive in England

1886 - 1887

[December 5, 1886] While busily engaged in preparing the daily dispatches for the Salt Lake Herald,¹ on which paper I had acted as Associate Editor for seven or eight months, deputy Marshall [Arthur] Pratt² — son of Orson Pratt, so I am informed, + deputy Marshall [Oscar] Vander Cook — a man of notoriously immoral character,³ came into the Herald office & arrested me ~~for me~~ on a bench warrant charging “unlawful cohabitation,” with Sarah L. Roberts & Celia Dibble. I accompanied the officers to ~~unclear~~ the office of Commissioner ~~Diek~~ [William] McKay⁴ — where I entered into \$1,000 bonds to appear next day at 2 P.M. Cha[rle]s Burton⁵ &

¹ The *Salt Lake Herald* was founded in 1870 as a pro-Democratic Party newspaper. The publisher in 1886 was LDS apostle Heber J. Grant; the editor Mormon-friendly Byron Groo; and the business manager Horace Whitney, a prominent Mormon.

² Arthur Pratt was born in 1853 in Salt Lake City to Orson and Sarah Marinda Pratt. His father was an LDS apostle. Arthur married Agnes Ellen Caine (1851-1926) in 1872 in Salt Lake City. In later years, Pratt was the warden of the Utah State Prison. He died in 1919 in Salt Lake City.

³ Vandercook was arrested by Salt Lake City police in November 1885 and charged with “lewd and lascivious conduct” with Mrs. A. J. Fields. Mrs. Fields was serving as a decoy in an effort coordinated by Brigham Young Hampton to entrap anti-Mormon officials. See Jeffrey Nichols, *Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power: Salt Lake City, 1847-1918* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 1, 33-34.

⁴ As a “commissioner,” William McKay would have been someone appointed by the federal district court to handle routine business.

⁵ Charles William Burton was born in 1857 in Indianapolis, Indiana, and married Sarah Josephine Evans (1866-1947) in 1885 in Centerville. He died there in 1929.

J[unius] F. Wells being my bond's men, & J[ames] H. Moyle⁶ an old school mate of mine when at the university being my attorney.

I made an ap[pointmen]t with my att[orney] to meet him next morning at 9:30 A.M. to talk over my case; but ~~on~~ brother J. F. Wells drew me aside & suggested the propriety.⁷

[April 2, 1887] In company with Apostle George Teasdale[,]⁸ I left Liverpool⁹ for the City of Nottingham¹⁰ in the county of Not-

⁶ A close political friend of Roberts's, James Henry Moyle was born in 1858 in Salt Lake City to James and Elizabeth Wood Moyle. James Henry married Alice Evelyn Dinwoodey (1865-1950) in 1887 in Logan, Utah. He practiced law from 1885 to 1940 and pursued a political career as Salt Lake County Attorney, 1886-90, a member of the territorial legislature, 1888-89, and chair of the Democratic state committee in 1898 and 1910. He ran for governor in 1900 and 1904 and for the U. S. Senate in 1914, then served in the Woodrow Wilson administration as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, 1917-21, and in the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration as Commissioner of Customs, 1933-39. He was president of the Eastern States Mission from 1929-33. He died in 1946 in Salt Lake City. His son, Henry D. Moyle became an LDS apostle in 1947. See Gene A. Sessions, ed., *Mormon Democrat: The Religious and Political Memoirs of James Henry Moyle* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998).

⁷ The entry ends as written above. What Junius Wells suggested was that Roberts skip bail and join Junius's father, Daniel H. Wells, who was the European Mission president, as editor of the church's *Millennial Star*. This was agreed upon in "consultation ... with the bondsmen and several of the apostles, among whom was Heber J. Grant and John Henry Smith." Elder Grant loaned Roberts a wagon, which Roberts drove to a remote Union Pacific Depot in the small town of Peterson, high in the mountains to the southeast of Ogden. Roberts assumed the alias James Reed as he traveled and began writing to his wife, Celia, under the codename Mrs. Ellison. To his mother, Roberts wrote "mid ocean" that the day he was arrested, he "had been filled with dread and anxiety all day though why I did not know until the event occurred." B. H. left town without telling her because he was "afraid they would have required you to appear as a witness." Finally, he told his mother that she could write to him in care of the church office in Liverpool, but suggested that she mail her letters from Salt Lake City rather than from Centerville. See Gary James Bergera, ed., *The Autobiography of B. H. Roberts* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 163-64; Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 162, 179; Roberts to Ann Dustin, 16 December 1886, box 3, fd. 10, Roberts Papers.

⁸ Apostle George Teasdale was appointed to relieve Daniel H. Wells as president of the European Mission, while Roberts was to assume editorship of the *Millennial Star*. However, due to a misunderstanding, Wells refused "for the first four months" to relinquish his authority either as mission president or editor of the newspaper. Teasdale and Roberts spent part of the first few months touring the mission, attending church conferences, getting to know the members, and doing some sight-seeing until the issue was resolved. See *Autobiography*, 165 (also 172-73).

⁹ Since 1855, the mission headquarters had been at 42 Islington Street in Liverpool, the port city in the northwestern part of England. Roberts liked mission offices' proximity to the Picton Library. See *Autobiography*, 172.

¹⁰ Nottingham is about eighty miles southeast of Liverpool.

tingham. We started from the Central station & went *via* of the Northwestern R[ailwa]y. We went through Warrington,¹¹ my birth place, down through Derbyshire.¹² We passed through the Pennine Mountains¹³ which are a continuation of the Cheviot hills that form the north boundary of England, & after running west about half way across the continent [the mountains] turn southward & therefore are stretched across our path between Liverpool & Nottingham. They are for the most part destitute of timber & fields & farms cover them to their summits. The cuts of the R[ailwa]y reveal the fact that the m[ountains] are huge piles of limestone & the people are largely engaged in quarrying building stone & ~~burn~~ burnlime *etc.*

At six in the evening our train arrived at the station in the ancient town of Nottingham where we were met by Elder Henry Walsh,¹⁴ pres. of the Not[tingham] Conference & [he] conducted us to the conf[erence] house where we met with several Elders from Utah. Among them [was] Jos[eph] S. Wells,¹⁵ with whom I spent the evening in strolling through the narrow crooked streets, & viewing the ancient looking houses.¹⁶

[April 3, 1887] This day we held three meetings all of which were well attended, but mostly before by the Saints. I occupied the principal part of the time in the afternoon, & Elder Teasdale in the evening. A splendid spirit prevailed throughout the meetings. Among

¹¹ Warrington is just a few miles southeast of Liverpool on the Mersey River.

¹² Derbyshire is immediately west of Nottinghamshire.

¹³ The Pennines, "the backbone of England," are a north-south range that run about half the length of England. Roberts is right that the Cheviot Hills form the boundary between England and Scotland, which Roberts refers to as a continent.

¹⁴ Fifty-eight-year-old Henry Walsh was born in Tottington, England, in 1828. He married Ellen Ashton (1829-1911) in 1851, Hannah Hemingway (1870-1950) in 1863, and Ann Marie Parsons (1832-?) in 1870. He was set apart for his mission on 3 February 1885 by Apostle Erastus Snow. Walsh died in 1892 in Alva, Wyoming.

¹⁵ The mission president's son, twenty-four-year-old Joseph Smith Wells, was born in 1862 in Salt Lake City to Daniel and Marsha Harris Wells. He was set apart on 12 October 1885 by Apostle Francis M. Lyman for his mission. He married Anna Elizabeth Sears (1864-1903) in 1888 and Mamie Lovell (1884-1942) in 1907. He died in 1916 in Logan, Utah.

¹⁶ While Roberts's diary is sketchy concerning his time in England, a good source of information on his activities is found in his letters to his mother during 1887-88. See box 3, folders 10 and 11, Roberts Papers.

those I met were sisters, a Mrs. Winn & Wells, with whom we spent the eve[ning] & to whom I related some items of experience.

[April 4, 1887] This morning was occupied in holding a council meeting with the Elders of the Nottingham [conference], in which [they] were instructed in their duties. [I]n the afternoon Brother Joseph Wells & myself visited the Church Cemetery. This is one of the most beautiful & at the same time the most romantic spots for the purpose that ever I have seen. It is located in the Northwest part of the town. We approach[ed] it from the west & turn[ed] to the south. It is a beautiful mound shaped hill, broken off on the southside exposing the mouth of a number of caves extending back into the red & white sandstone formation of which the hill is composed. These caves were occupied during the reign of Richard the I [Richard the Lion-hearted] & of [his successor] King John by the bold Robber Chieftain Robin Hood who in [Sir Walter] Scott's *Ivanhoe*¹⁷ is known as Locksley. A company is formed & are excavating for cattacombs. The passages & chambers are all cut in the solid limestone. It is supposed that there were numerous secret passages connecting these caves with the castle in the town & perhaps a mile distant.

From here we went to the old General Town Cemetery where Elder Jesse Cherry¹⁸ is buried. He died the 20th of May 1865 & was 24 years old. A plain light colored sandstone marks his resting place & over the greensward [grave] is growing a small tree the name of which I could not learn <but it was a species> of locust.

From this point we went to the [Nottingham] Castle on the hill or bluff in the Southeast part of town. The rock on which the castle <stands> is 130 f[ee]t above the level of the town & overlooks the valley of the Trent [River] which is a sluggish meandering stream, but a thickly settled valley. The old Norman Castle that was built here[,] & upon the old foundation [of which] the present structure

¹⁷ The poet and novelist Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) was born to a wealthy Edinburgh family and was knighted in 1820 for his writing. Of his many works, he is best known for his novel *Ivanhoe*, which tells of Richard the Lion-hearted and Robin Hood, alias Locksley, joining forces to capture a Norman castle after Richard arrives home from the Crusades.

¹⁸ Forty-six-year-old Jesse Yelton Cherry was born in 1840 in Illinois. He was set apart for his mission on 22 April 1864 by President John Taylor. As Roberts notes, Cherry died of small pox a little over a year later.

stands[,] was built by the Peverils¹⁹ [break in the original] but a fortress was built here a 1000 years before this, & was occupied by the Danes in 870, and it was here that they defeated Alfred the Great. The castle was frequently taken & retaken during the middle ages & was the <royal> residence of Roger Mortimer <who> was captured in [the] Castle with his paramour Isabella once the wife of King Edward the II in 1330. Isabella had become inamored of Mortimer in France while her hus[band] was still living.²⁰ It was here that Richard III started for Bosworth field. In 1831 <in> the corn riots the castle was partly destroyed, but has since been rebuilt. Formerly it was the property of the Duke of Newcastle but now belongs to the town.

[April 5, 1887] This A.M. Joseph [Wells] & self took train for Newstead Abby [Newstead Abbey]²¹ — once the home of Lord Byron.²² We obtained a pass at the little brick public house near the station & leaving an order for luncheon at the afore said “pub” we gave the man a shilling & started for what was once the home of the poet. You enter the estate by a hard smooth road leading North[,] <where a woman runs out to see if you have a pass[,]> passing a lodge near the entrance & then a cluster of farm houses, barns, stables etc. on the right; then through another lodge, where another woman meets you & partly closes the gate on you until you exhibited your pass. Then

The walk was a very pleasant one for some mile & ½ to this point [with] alternate pasture lands[,] green fields & neatly plowed ones plentifully sprinkled with the lazy sheep & <frisking> lambs: but from this last gate the beauties became more grand & the trees more noble, & the undulating surface more broken. Presently as you turn a sudden bend in the road you come in full view of the Abby, & ~~instinctively the words of Byron in describing~~

¹⁹ The castle was built by William Peveril, son of William “the Conqueror” of Normandy.

²⁰ Roger Mortimer engineered the murder of King Edward II, the homosexual husband of Queen Isabella. Mortimer and Isabella lived together at Nottingham Castle until they were arrested and Mortimer executed.

²¹ Newstead Abbey was founded as a monastic house in the late twelfth century. It became the Byron family home in 1540 and the home of the poet Lord Byron from 1808 to 1814. Newstead remained in private hands until the 1930s when it was presented to the Nottingham Corporation and opened to the public.

²² George Gordon Byron (1788-1824), the English poet.

The emotions one feels in this coming suddenly upon the home of the poet who was of so strange a nature — so wild, so fierce, & yet so gifted is difficult to describe. You approach the Abbey from the West; on your left is a beautiful lake covering an area of 36 acres. It is fed by springs, and at its out-let, on the east side, is formed a beautiful cascade, whose low murmur adds a charm to the surroundings

You approach the Abby from the west, & is said to be one of the finest specimens of the early English style of Anglo-Gothic in the kingdom.²³ It is thus described by a poet:

“An old, old monastery once & now
Still older mansion — of a rich & rare
Mix’d Gothic, such as artists allow
Few specimens left us can compare.”²⁴

I had always thought that Byron had discribed the abbey in these lines from *Childe Harold*:

The Childe departed from his father’s hall:
It was a vast & venerable pile.
So old, it seemed only not to fall,
Yet strength was pillar’d in each missing aisle.
Monastic dome! condemned to uses vile!
Where superstition once had made her den,
Now Paphian girls were known to sing & smile;
And Monks might deem their time was come agen,
If ancient titles say true & wrong these holy men.²⁵

And doubtless this was a good description of the abbey in the days of Byron but since the property fell into the hands of Col. Wildman & W. F. Webb, the present owners,²⁶ it has been [through] so much improvement.²⁷

²³ The pages in the original are water stained and difficult to read.

²⁴ Roberts quotes from Byron’s epic satire “Don Juan,” canto 13, verse 55. The description, which in the original describes a fictitious English country house called Norman Abbey, is still quoted in the guidebooks.

²⁵ “Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage,” Canto the First, VII.

²⁶ Major (later Colonel) Thomas Wildman (1787-1859) purchased Newstead Abbey from his college friend Lord Byron in 1818. Using his family inheritance, Wildman restored the abbey and improved its gardens and park. A wealthy landowner, William Frederick Webb (1829-99), purchased it from Wildman’s widow in 1861.

²⁷ The journal stops at this point where a smaller group of four leaves of loose

[August 1, 1887] In counsel meeting [in Glasgow]²⁸ with [the] elders[,] splendid time. Had a group of Elders photographed. In afternoon started with Elder W[illia]m Wood Jr.²⁹ for Ayr,³⁰ in the vicinity of which the Poet [Robert] Burns³¹ was born & in which scene of some of his poems are laid[,] especially Tam O'Shanter.³² Ayr is on the coast with mountains & grand rural prospects surrounding it. We took the road leading to the monument of the poet built by in 1820 at a cost of 3,350 [pounds] or \$16,750. We did no[t] know that the cottage where the poet was born was in the same vicinity, but as we walked along the road we came to a neatly white-washed long, low, thatched cottage, the thatching of which I punched with my umbrella, until we came to the door where on a board I saw inscribed "Burn's cottage". The Ayrshire Poet was born under this roof on the 21st Jan. A.D. 1759 died on 21 July A.D. 1796 aged 37½ yr. We went inside for which we p[ai]d 2d. The cottage is divided into two rooms: the kitchen & "Ben or Spence."³³ In a corner of the kitchen is a recess built in the wall in which the poet was born. [T]he room is about 18 x 14 [feet,] the ceiling is low[,] the fire place large, the furniture rude & every thing the plainest & rudest character. Is it not strange that such is the birth place in nearly of all instances of genius, of those characters who have left or record the best <& sweetest> thoughts, & performed the noblest deeds. It does seem that God mocks the rich & great by sending his noblest spirits to the poor & lowly.

From the cottage we walked on to about half a mile to Allo-

papers with notes on the scriptures was laid in. After skipping eighteen blank leaves, the diary resumes. In the original, August 30 and 31 are inserted ahead of August 1. I have restored the entries to their proper order.

²⁸ Glasgow is on the west coast of central Scotland on the Clyde River about 185 miles north of Liverpool.

²⁹ Thirty-six-year-old William B. Wood was born in 1851 in Centerville, Utah, and was active in church callings and as a farmer in Davis County, marrying Mary Jane Clements (1854-?) in 1872 in Minersville, Utah. William was set apart for his mission on 20 May 1887 by Apostle John H. Smith. Wood died in 1922.

³⁰ Ayr is on the west coast of Scotland about thirty miles southwest of Glasgow.

³¹ Robert Burns (1759-96) was born in Ayrshire to a poor family. He gained international fame for his ballads in Scottish dialect.

³² "Tam O'Shanter" speaks of "auld Ayr, wham ne'er a town surpasses / for honest men and bonny lasses" but where witches gathered in the Alloway church, which Burns says is a "haunted kirk."

³³ Roberts uses the terms for a parlor and pantry.

way's "auld haunted kirk"³⁴ where we read Tam O'Shanter & gathered some flowers. It is a small structure not more than 60 x 24 ft. It is roofless & old weeds & ivy are mouldering on the wall yet it has an immortality about it. From here we went to the old brig O' Doon³⁵ famous for the race between Cutty Sark & Tam's Mare Meg.³⁶ ~~We Stayed over night~~ It is an ancient, high, narrow, inconvenient structure of stone but makes a noble arch over the Doon & will stand for centuries. The Doon is generally a small innocent looking stream except in the rainy season then its floods rage. It reminded me much of some of our m[ountain] streams. We stopped overnight at the hotel near the new brig.

[August 2, 1887] Rose early (5 A.M.) & spent the A.M. in walking on the banks of the Doon between the old & the new Brigs. Splendid time for reflection. Good breakfast. After which we walked out into the country to a high hill southwest from the tavern where you get a fine view of the land of Burns — Ayr & the ocean bay, the m[ountain]s. Mt Oliphant,³⁷ from where the poet worked when a boy etc. And here in full view of the poets surroundings we read his works. Visited the before mentioned college monument. It consists of a circular base mounted by a number of Grecian serated pillars ~~wi~~ covered over by a canopy ornamented with unique carving etc. The grounds are laid out in fine taste.

From here we went to the race course adjacent to the town of Ayr, & witnessed the movements of the troops in training at that place. I think they were the Ayrshire militia — rather inferior men I thought. Later in the afternoon we strolled up the banks of Ayr — made immortal in the writings of Burns — especially so since it was here that the poet spent his <day of> parting love with his Mary —

He thus discribes the scene.

³⁴ Alloway is on the outskirts of Ayr. The ruins and cemetery of the Alloway church are the setting for Burns's "Tam O'Shanter" and the burial place of Burns's father.

³⁵ Dialect for "bridge over the Doon River."

³⁶ Meg was the name of Tam's mare in "Tam O'Shanter" and "Cutty Sark" was what Tam called the beautiful witch, Nannie, in reference to her revealing, cut-off skirt. The race in question is Tam's flight from the witch across the Brig O' Doon.

³⁷ Mt. Oliphant is the name of the farm Robert Burns's father rented and worked.

Ayr, gurgling, kiss'd his pebbled shore
 O'rehung with wild-woods, thickening green;
 The fragrant birch and hawthorn hoar
 Twin'd amorous round the raptur'd scene.³⁸

In the eve[ning] returned to Glasgow & went with a number of the brethren to see Rob Roy the McGregor of High land fame.³⁹

Am extremely grateful for this privelege of visiting the home & land of my favorite poet [Burns] — the poet of the heart. I hope to make his acquaintance in a better world, & hope that both his own lot & my own will be improved to what it has been in this world.

[August 3, 1887] This A.M. started down the Clyde river on a trip into the Scotch Highlands. Went down the filthy Clyde some 12 miles. The shores on both sides are lined with dock yards & the whole country seems to be ingaged in ship building — passed some government gun boats of a peculiar make, but they possess great power it is said. Landed at Bowling Green & took cars for south end of Loch Lomond.⁴⁰ Forgot to say in proper order that Elders Ja[me]s P. Low⁴¹ & W[illia]m Wood were my companions in this trip. ½ hour ride brought us to Balloch,⁴² & in site of the Queen of Scottish Lochs — Loch Lomond. It is a body of fresh clear water, about 4 or 5 mi[les] wide in the widest part & about 22 mi[les] long, and in places more than 600 f[ee]t deep. Its greatest extent is from north to south, and it is surrounded by the most picturesque m[ountain]s that approach something to wildness in the north end of the Loch. The widest part of the Loch is at the south end, where a number of beautiful ~~islan~~ mountain islands adds an increased variety & grandeur to the scene.

³⁸ Robert Burns, "To Mary in Heaven," third stanza, lines 17-20.

³⁹ The dramatic presentation the missionaries saw was likely Isaac Pocock's popular melodrama, "Rob Roy MacGregor," first produced in 1818. Robert MacGregor was the famous outlaw Sir Walter Scott romanticized in his novels.

⁴⁰ Loch Lomond is the largest lake in Great Britain, bordered on the northeast by the equally famous mountain peak, Ben Lomond.

⁴¹ Twenty-six-year-old James Paton Low was born in 1860 in Salt Lake City. He married Sarah Ida Barber (1863-1930) in 1881 and was set apart for his mission on 9 November 1885 by Apostle John H. Smith. He served with Roberts in the Utah Constitutional Convention. He died in Lethbridge, Alberta, in 1918.

⁴² Balloch is at the southern end of Loch Lomond, less than ten miles northwest of Glasgow.

We purposed walking up the west side of the lake, & passed through the ~~summer~~ estate & highly cultivated grounds of the Earl of ~~Met~~ Mont Rose who owns the whole country bordering on the ~~loch~~ west side of the loch, while that on the east is owned by the Duke of Argyle.

We walked on all day, enjoying the ever varying but always beautiful scenery; passing through the villiages of Rosssdlus, Luss <&> Inverbeg.⁴³ Approaching n[ight] found us opposite Ben Lomond, a m[oun]t which raises 3192 f[ee]t from the level of the loch, & whose sharp peak is nearly always covered in a cloud. It is one of the highest m[ountain]s in all Scotland, & perhaps one of the most famed, as it was in its vicinity that the noted Clan of Rob Roy lived.

We had overtaken a peasant on the road, whose business it was to keep the excellent m[ountain] r[oa]d in repair of eight mi[les] & on inquiring into the chances of getting lodgings in the vacinity, learned that he himself sometimes kept travelers & as we were all tired, especially myself, [and] since ~~that~~ this was a sudden change from no exercise in the office to rather violent exercise, we resolved to stop with him & arranged for beds, supper, & the use of the man's boat for a moon light ride on the lake.

I bathed my weary swollen feet in the clear cold water of the lake & it was a great relief to the pain, for to add to my troubles I was wearing a new pair of shoes & that always draws my feet.

After supper, I rowed the brethren across the loch to the foot of Ben Lomond, where we found the cave said to have been the prison of Rob Roy. We wandered around the base of this m[oun]tain for more than an hour & saw the glorious day die out of the sky. The moon rose up gloriously over the high eastern hills, & threw a mantle of silvery splendor over the clear water of the ~~splendid lake~~ Loch. We glided smoothly over the waters though I had become so weak through my illness that I had to give the oars unto others while I lay on my back in the stern & though in pain enjoyed the glories of such a matchless night. We arrived at our lodgings some time before midnight & Elder Low was so alarmed for my safety that he insisted on going to the villiage for some brandy for me, <which> I have no doubt did me much good.

⁴³ The towns along the west shore of the lake include Rosssdhu, Luss, Inverbeg, and Tarbet. Roberts and companions walked about twenty miles from Balloch to a point near Tarbet, opposite Ben Lomond.

[August 4, 1887] Started early this morning for Tarbet, but I was so sore & stiff that we had to go exceedingly slow. Walked about 2 mi[les], which brought us to T[arbet] & there we took boat for Inversnaid on the opposite side of the loch. It was a delightful ride of 3/4 of an hour, & plunges you into still wilder scenery.

From Inv[ersnaid] we take coach to the head of Loch Katrine.⁴⁴ Enroute we pass through several fine <m[ountain]> glens & a miniture lake called Loch Arklet & at last arrive at Stronachlachar Hotel at the west <or head> end of Loch Katrine. The Loch is from 1½ to 2 miles wide by 10 to 12 in length, its greatest extend being from E[ast] to west. As you steam down the lake, or at least toward the east you have it with Gartney on your left while the right hand coast is more broken & wild. Several majestic peaks towering aloft into heaven's matchless flow, the most prominent being Ben Venne 2393 f[ee]t. At the east end of the Loch you pass that m[oun]t isle made famous as the home of Ellen Douglas in Scott's *Lady of the Lake*.⁴⁵ After ½ an hours wait at the Trossach's Hotel we take to the coach & leaving Ben A'an on the left, & keeping Loch Archy surrounded with its sloping meadowlands on the right we continue our course eastward. We pass some fine rural scenery here, several highland cabins. I remember one, consisting of a groupe of cottages with low old fashioned thatched roofs, heather covered hills rising behind them on which highland cattle & sheep were feeding, & in front a large open meadow with a group of hay makers, both men, women & children in it. There were 8 mowers & the rest were raking it — I looked in vain however for my ideal of Maud Muller,⁴⁶ but presently came upon something much better — a fine young lady in simple attire in the shade of a clump of bushes sketching the scene I had just been admiring.

We have passed Loch Achey & this is Loch Vennarchayr.⁴⁷ The county is more open here & we begin to see signs of our modern

⁴⁴ Loch Katrine is a few miles northeast of Loch Lomond.

⁴⁵ In Sir Walter Scott's epic poem, *The Lady of the Lake*, King James V disguises himself to go hunting and becomes lost in the woods. Ellen Douglas, daughter of an assumed enemy of the king, rescues him without revealing to him her identity. Later, during a clash between highland clans, Ellen takes refuge in a cave by the lake and is rescued by the king, only later to discover his true identity.

⁴⁶ Roberts refers to John Greenleaf Whittier's (1807-92) poem "Maud Miller."

⁴⁷ Loch Venachar is southeast of Loch Katrine.

civilization. We arrived at Callander⁴⁸ where we cross the river Firth⁴⁹ & so take train for Sterling⁵⁰ the grandest spot I have yet seen in the Kingdom of Great Britain. Sterling is also one of the most ancient cities in all Scotland & formerly ~~one of~~ the place of residents of her kings.⁵¹ It was ~~established~~ formerly known as Snowdon & was a Roman station & so old that its origin is lost in obscurity. I can only say here that from Sterling castle one beholds as fine a landscape as the eye can possibly see in all the world, the distant ranges of mountains on the north & west, the rich fields newly reaped, or still laden with ripening grain the meandering Forth, the quaint villiages, red ruffed & thatched cottages — the ancient looking town the former homes of kings, the hoary castle, the bold bluff to the north east called Abbey Craig rising abruptly from the smiling plain to the height of 300 f[ee]t surmounted by the magnificent Wallace Monument,⁵² — all this and the fact that Bannachburn ~~batte~~ field of battle where Robert the Bruce of Scotland defeated Ed[ward] II of England is only two miles to the south & within easy range of you[r] vision adds to the charm. The battle was fought in 1314[,] 24[th] of June. The English n[umbered] 100,000 the Scots but 40,000 but through superior generalship won the day. The Wallace Monument over looks the battle field where Wallace won the victory over the Earl of Surry[,] 11 Sept. 1297 against great odds but he divided the English forces by taking possession of the Stirling bridge when about half the E[n]glish troops had crossed. There are also four other battlefields in view, but they are of minor importance. Stirling was considered in those warlike times the key to the Highlands & old S[tirling] bridge was known as the gate. For further information I have saved a guide book. ...

In the eve[n]ing went to Edinburgh⁵³ w[h]ere we put up at the London hotel. The next A.M. called upon a sister McLeod where

⁴⁸ Callandar is just east of Loch Venachar.

⁴⁹ A firth is a narrow bay. They actually crossed the Forth, which further downstream opens into the Firth of Forth.

⁵⁰ Stirling is about twenty-five miles northeast of Glasgow.

⁵¹ Three British kings were born at the Stirling castle: James II, James III, and James V. It is where Mary Stuart was coronated Queen of Scots in 1543 at nine months old. Much earlier, in 1297, the Scottish nationalist William Wallace defeated the British at Stirling Bridge.

⁵² A square, 220-foot tower erected in 1869.

⁵³ Edinburgh is thirty miles southeast of Stirling on the North Sea coast.

we were to meet Elder Sylvester.⁵⁴ He was not there when we first went, so we started to see New Haven a fishing villiage on the banks of the Firth & two or three mi[les] from Edinburgh. The women wear a peculiar costume, & altogather they seem to have been a people who have kept themselves separate & distinct from the other people & are I think of Danish descent. Return to sister McLeod's at 2 P.M. We met Elder Low & in company with him we visited the several places of interest[,] among them Sir Walter Scott's monument⁵⁵ a fine piece of archetecture upwards of 200 feet high[,] 210 as I remember[,] & you can ascend 180 feet by a spiral stairway from which one obtains a fine view of the city, which seems to be in the shape of a Y the lower part of the Y running down Princes street past the old castle⁵⁶ over looking the surrounding country: the right prong running beyond town & Carlton Hill⁵⁷ & lying under the southwest side of the crags & Arthur's seat;⁵⁸ while the left prong extends to the Firth & down towards Portobello, a watering place & summer place of residences.⁵⁹ I may say here that the city has a population of more than 300,000, & is accounted the finest city of the world, is indeed the modern Athens, & its principal street, Princes street[,] is ææææ accepted as the wealthiest in the world & grandest in the world. The right side of the st[reet] as you face the castle is occupied by the finest hotels, &

⁵⁴ Roberts may be referring to James Sylvester (1815-88), a farmer and blacksmith who was president of the Sheffield branch.

⁵⁵ The marble statue of Sir Walter Scott and his dog Maida is on Princes Street. The monument includes sixty figures from Scott's novels.

⁵⁶ The Edinburgh Castle was built in stages beginning in 1070 by King Malcolm III, whose father, King Duncan I, was killed by Macbeth. Most of the surviving portions of the castle were added in the fourteenth century by King David II, son of Robert the Bruce. In B. H. Roberts's next diary entry, he mentions the Chapel of St. Margaret, the oldest remaining part of the castle, which was dedicated in 1090 by King David I in honor of his mother, Margaret Atheling, who was later canonized.

⁵⁷ Carlton Hill included the Old Observatory (1792) and City Observatory (1818); the National Monument (1822) in honor of the war dead from the Napoleonic period; and a memorial tower in honor of Admiral Horatio Nelson (1816) with the time ball Roberts mentions.

⁵⁸ Arthur's Seat is an extinct volcano, at the foot of which are the 650-foot Salisbury Crags or rocky cliffs. The Holyroodhouse Palace is at the north end of the park, opposite Carlton Hill.

⁵⁹ Just east of Edinburgh, Portobello was known for its sandy beaches, mineral springs, and "bathing machines"—wooden cabana-like structures that were used to wheel women into the bay without being seen in their bathing suits.

dealers in jewelry & fancy goods stationary etc, while on the left are the splendid gardens kept up by the [city] Corporation. Scott's monument is about half way down the street, & just below are the art gallery & city museum, both Grecian in style[,] while rising on a ridge[,] to the left of the gardens[,] which abruptly ends in the bold bluff on which stands the ancient castle, is [the] old [city] with its odd shaped houses eight & ten stories high rising one above the other as if standing on Terraces as the respective rows approach the summit of the ridge. The principal street which runs down the right prong of the Y is High street — a hard quarter & in which stands the odd quaint home of the reformer John Knox.⁶⁰ You take this road to Holyrood Castle, the residence of the Queen when in E[dinburgh] & formerly the home of Mary Q[ueen] of Scots.⁶¹ Carlton Hill, which stands where the right & the left prongs of the Y join, stands at the head of Princes st[reet] & is surmounted by a noble monument of the heroic Nelson. When a ball falls down a staff at 1 P.M. every day giving Greenwich Time. The falling of the ball fires a cannon at the castle, more than a mi[le] away. We visited Holyrood Castle the home of the Queen, Old Edinburgh Castle, Museum Art Gallery,⁶² etc.

[August 7, 1887] Held service in the A.M. at the house of sister McLeod. Good spirit prevailed. In the afternoon in company with Elder Wood & three sisters — a daughter of Sister McLeod's a sister by the name of <Anna Calder>⁶³ & Thomasina Brown a sweet lady who knew more about scotch poetry & old scotch songs than any one I have before met. After our trip to Portobello we started for Arthur's Seat passing the old ruin of St Margaret's Ch[urch]

⁶⁰ John Knox (1505-72) wrote the Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland, adopted by the Scottish parliament in 1560 which constitutes the founding of Presbyterianism.

⁶¹ Mary Stuart was the queen who remained Catholic while her country turned Protestant. She was incarcerated in Scotland for murdering her husband, and she was jailed in England for plotting to kill her cousin, Elizabeth I, for which she was beheaded. Her son, James, became king of England and Scotland and is known for having authorized the new translation of the Bible.

⁶² The National Gallery of Scotland is an imposing neoclassical building that opened in 1859 on the mound next to Princes Street Gardens. From the beginning, it featured works by such Scottish artists as Allan Ramsay, Henry Raeburn, David Wilkie, and William McTaggart.

⁶³ This name seems to have been entered later in a different ink.

overlooking the town of Ed[inburgh] & a mineture loch. We walked up the valley of humiliation & so passed on to the rugged point of rocks known as King Arthur's seat. Here we spent an hour or two in pleasant conversation & singing songs. The view we had of the sunset & the city lighted up is <was> indeed grand! I shall long remember that evening & its pleasant associations.

[August 8, 1887] Started for & arrived in L[iverpool] where I sit down once more to the daily routine of things until some kind of providence shall find me another change.⁶⁴ In the mean time am greatful for this out[ing] in Scotland & trust the grandeur of the scenery through which I passed will have the effect of ennobling my nature, & making me thirst after the beautiful, virtuous, & grand. Indeed would it not be unprofitable if such an effect was not produced. Shame upon him who has such opportunities if they do not increase his love for the virtuous, the beautiful, & the god-like. I certainly hope the result will be to refine this rather cross grained nature of mine, which is sorely in need of such influences.⁶⁵

[August 30, 1887] Left L[iverpool] in company with J[ame]s P. Low for Scotland to attend the Glasgow Conference. Arrived 5:30 P.M., distance 240 miles. Met at station by Elder [William] Henderson⁶⁶ and others. Spent the eve[ning] in viewing streets of Glasgow. In

⁶⁴ Roberts means that he resumed working at the *Millennial Star*. However, he conceals an adventure that was already afoot because it was about July—between his trip to the English Midlands and his trip to Scotland—that he had begun attending rallies organized by the anti-Mormon agitator William Jarman. Roberts tried to gain a hearing and passed out tracts, which elicited a violent response from the crowds on more than one occasion. When finally Jarman agreed to a series of debates, the police had to provide Roberts with an escort. See *Defender*, 167-76 (also 412-13nn15, 16, 30 for the earliest dates of what became a year-long engagement with Jarman).

⁶⁵ At this point the journal stops, the next ten pages and the rear cover of the journal being devoted to notes, partial financial accounts, newspaper clippings, and other material. Some of the notes are dated and some are not. They seem to cover both 1886 and 1887. One item dated 24 September 1886 indicates that Roberts would receive \$300 for the manuscript of *The Gospel* in two payments: \$100 on 24 October 1886 and \$200 on February 1, 1887. As mentioned, the subsequent entries preceded the August 8 entry in the original journal.

⁶⁶ Thirty-six-year-old William Henderson was born in 1851 in Penston, Scotland. He married Martha Gabriella Pearson (1853-35) in 1872 and, subsequently, Keziah Jane Cappell (1860-1948), both in Salt Lake City. Henderson was set apart for his mission on 12 October 1885 by Apostle Franklin D. Richards. In 1899, Henderson married Hannah Easthope (1853-?) in Canada. He died in 1934 in Cardston, Alberta.

the city there are some 800,000 inhabitants including suburbs. In the central & east end of town the people are very wretched looking & years of poverty and intemperance have a telling effect on the persons & especially on the faces of the people. I never remember to have seen so much squallied misery and general wretchedness. The river Clyde which opens below the city into an arm or firth of the ocean divides the town into North & South Glasgow, the larger division being on the North. The river has been made into one of the finest artificial channels & harbors in the world & the vessels of all nations find their way into the city. The area of the city is about 3 mi[les] from e[ast] to w[est] & about 2 from n[orth] to s[outh], that is its compact portions. Taking in its suburbs it is some 6 mi[les] e[ast] & w[est] x $4\frac{1}{2}$ n[orth] & s[outh].

Besides being a great commercial center, it has important manufactories in cotton, woolens, linens iron ware, chemicals, pottery etc. [I]ndeed there is a forest of fuming chimney stacks belching out their flames and smoke which added to the murky atmosphere.⁶⁷ The crowds of grimy population dirty women & children make it [a] rather repulsive city. But it is not without its attractions. There is Glasgow Green⁶⁸ running parallel with the river on its right bank & there men congregate in the eve[ning] to discuss religion, fidelity, politics, science & every branch of knowledge. I observe the people are extremely fond of debate — it is a passion with them. The river is spanned by a number of foot, road + r[ailwa]y bridges, the most attractive being the Victoria.⁶⁹ In the north part of the city is George's sq[uare] laid off into splendid flower beds & surrounded with the principal hotels in the city.⁷⁰ In the middle of the sq[uare] stands the <splendid> monument to [Sir Walter] Scott & in front of it one of [Robert] Burns & [Thomas] Campbell and around it one of [Thomas] Graham, [David] Livingston[e] & some others not now remembered. In the ~~south~~ <west-

⁶⁷ Glasgow is where James Watt invented the steam engine in 1769 and where the first mechanical looms were built in 1792. When Roberts visited the city, it was the center of British ship building, locomotive manufacturing, the textile industry, and the importexport business.

⁶⁸ This park, stretching along the south bank of the Clyde, was laid out in 1662.

⁶⁹ Victoria Bridge was constructed of granite in 1854-56.

⁷⁰ George Square was surrounded by upscale hotels, as Roberts mentions, but also by the lavish city chambers, post office, and Edinburgh & Glasgow Railway station.

ern> part is West End Park⁷¹ splendidly laid out and on a hill within is the Glasgow University with its 27 endowed chairs etc.⁷² — 100 years ago the population <of G[lasgow]> was about 3000. The city is surrounded by a splendid rural scenery.

[31 August 1887] Met in conference prayer meeting with the Elders & at 11 A.M. met in conference. Elder Wood & others occupied the principal part of the time. I spoke a few moments. Afternoon the time was occupied by myself on the life and labor of Pres. Taylor.⁷³ Good meeting in the eve[ning].

⁷¹ West End Park, later renamed Kelvingrove Park, was preparing to host the 1888 International Exhibition.

⁷² Glasgow University was founded in 1451. The first classes were held at the Blackfriars monastery and at the cathedral on the High Street. In the seventeenth century, the school moved to its own buildings, also on the High Street, then in 1870 to the west-end Gilmorehill campus that Roberts visited. Roberts would have been familiar with some of the bright lights of the university's stellar academic tradition, including Lord Kelvin, Joseph Lister, Adam Smith, and James Watt.

⁷³ See entry for 4 November 1890.

VII.

A Fondness for Colorado

1890

[November 3, 1890] Rose early — 5 A.M.¹ Beautiful day, clear & cloudless.

Wrote an article for Semi-w[ee]kly *Herald* on the inconsistency of our opponents wishing to disfranchise the people of Utah for believing that God would eventually establish his Kingdom on Earth.² Went to Salt Lake City on ten-30 train returned on 2 P.M. train, engaged in afternoon <in> various odd jobs about home. In the eve[n]ing attended political meeting at the Centerville Tabernacle. Occupied principal part of time on the issues of election tomorrow between for Delegate to Congress. The other speakers were Tho[m]as] F. Howells & Greenwood.³ Large audience — pretty fair liberty —

¹ Roberts is in Centerville, Utah. Since August 1887, he has returned home (late September-early October 1888); assumed a position as one of the First Seven Presidents of Seventy (ordained 7 October 1888); served a four-month prison sentence (May-September 1889) for cohabitation with his plural wife, Celia; and married—or will soon marry—a third wife, Margaret Curtis Shipp. See Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 180, 186, 199.

² Only a handful of issues of the *Semi-Weekly Herald* still exist, and apparently none are extant from 1890.

³ It is not clear who Greenwood was. Roberts was active in this campaign, speaking in various places in Davis County and elsewhere. For example, on 31 October he spoke in Farmington alongside *Deseret News* editor and future apostle Charles W. Penrose. See the *Deseret News*, 1 Nov. 1890.

good attention. Met mother and [my] sister Byrnina⁴ there. My Father in Heaven, grant that thy people may tomorrow win a glorious victory over those who would politically disinherit them; and may they long enjoy the liberties, and have them enlarged, that are guaranteed to them in the institutions of their country, Amen.

[November 4, 1890] Rose at 6 A.M. Fine day. Fine Indian Summer Weather.

Worked on [the] Hist[ory] [of] Pres. Taylor⁵ and about home. Election went off quietly in our place, large majority for People's Candidate [John Caine].⁶ Spent the eve[ning] at Henry Rampton's home with Bishop [Aaron] Porter and wife & others W[illia]m Evans & wife, Mrs. R[ampton] was present, enjoyable time. Retired [at] 12 [midnight].

[November 5, 1890] Rose late — 8 A.M., result of keeping late h[ou]rs. Fine day though little cloudy.

Spent the day on Pres. Taylor's Hist[ory] & in work about home in garden. Spent eve[ning] very pleasantly with family. [L]earned that [John] Caine was elected with probable majority of 5,000. Retired early.

[November 6, 1890] Rose early 6 A.M. Wrote art[icle] for Semi-W[EEKLY]. *H[erald]* on relative position of Catholic & Ch[urch] of J[esus] Christ as to human laws. Went to City on 10-30 train. Met there Elder Jacob Gates⁷ and Brother C[hristian]. D. Fjelsted, both of the First Council of Seventies. This is the first time I have met Elder Fjelsted since I became a member of the Council, as he has been absent from the body of the Ch[urch] preaching the gospel in

⁴ Roberts refers to Byrnina Ann Dustin (1872-1951), his half-sister born to his mother, Ann, and her husband Seth Dustin.

⁵ B. H. Roberts, *Life of John Taylor, Third President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons Co., 1892).

⁶ The election was for a territorial delegate to Congress. The vote in Centerville reflected the high Mormon population there, 50-4 in favor of John T. Caine—the People's Party being the LDS political organization and its challengers coming from the non-Mormon Liberal Party. When the parties dissolved in 1891 and 1893 respectively, Mormons gravitated to the Democratic Party while non-Mormons became mostly Republicans.

⁷ Jacob Gates (1811-1892) was sustained as one of the First Council of Seventy on 6 April 1860 and was set apart to that office on 8 October 1862.

the Scandinavian countries for the past four years; and for two years presided in that mission. I met Elder Fjelsted but once before and that was down in Fort Ephraim some seven years ago at a public meeting. He is a man about 60 yrs old short of stature, but heavy build. His hair, which is ~~thick~~ plentiful, and neatly dressed, is white almost, as is also his heavy, neatly trimmed beard. Complexion florid, and a very pleasant expression of countenance, and quiet, and gentlemanly address.

~~Usual business of Council attended to~~ Sister Gates⁸ was on the train to whom I was introduced. Just before arriving in [the] City — saw that Lorenzo Snow Pres[ident] of the Twelve Apostles was abroad, passed a pleasant greeting with him.

Met with Council at 11 A.M. Usual business of Council attended to rep[or]ts etc. Took dinner with Bro. [John] Morgan, at whose house I remained answering letters during afternoon. Accompanied Bro. Morgan to sister De Lamars to administer to her daughter sick of typhoid fever. Returned home on 8 P.M. train: helped children with lessons, retiring early — for me.

[November 7, 1890] Fine day — but hazy.

Worked all day on Hist. Pres. Taylor. Aunt Becky Chamberlain — wife's Aunt spent day with my family. In eve[n]ing Louisa drove me in carriage to D. & R. G. depot at Woods Cross,⁹ took train for Coalville¹⁰ to attend conference in Summit Stake agreeable to ap[pointmen]t of the council. Arrived Coalville late at n[igh]t. Stayed at the home of Pres. [William] Cluff.¹¹

[November 8, 1890] Attended conference in Cluff's Hall[,]¹² not

⁸ Jacob Gates had four wives, three of them still living in 1890. It is unclear which one Roberts refers to.

⁹ Woods Cross is immediately west of Bountiful, a few miles southwest of Centerville.

¹⁰ Coalville is about twenty-seven miles east of Centerville on a branch of the old immigrant trail south of Echo Canyon on the east side of the Weber River.

¹¹ William Wallace Cluff was born in 1832 in Willoughby, Ohio, to David and Elizabeth Hall Cluff. He married Ann Whipple (1842-1927) in 1863 in Pine Valley, Utah. A member of the 22nd Quorum of Seventy, he served missions to the Sandwich Islands, 1854-58, and Denmark, 1859-63 and 1870-73. He was the first mayor of Coalville, served in the Utah legislature, and was president of the Summit stake from 1877 to 1901. He died in 1915 in Salt Lake City.

¹² Presumably, Roberts refers to the Coalville Tabernacle begun in 1879 and un-

more than thirty five present. The Saints seem cold & indifferent in this stake. Three months before Apostle [Francis] Lyman,¹³ & myself Pres[ident] Gates and myself attended Conference here, and it was same way then. [H]ad hoped the counsel & warning given at that time would have reformed the people, but it seems that it did not. Pres. C[luff] occupied most of the time in forenoon, I followed. Took dinner with Bro. [Alma] Elderidge.¹⁴

2 P.M.

Attendance some larger. I occupied principle part of time, but had but little liberty; the fault is either in me or the people, perhaps both. I confess to you, dear journal, that my life is not always what it should be and that fact robs me of very much of the Spirit of the Lord, that as his servant I ought to enjoy. When, oh, when shall I be free of folly; of sin [?] O, God! If I may dare a lifted eye to Thee, Thy nod can still bid the tempest cease to blow and still the tumult of the raging sea — with that controlling power assist e[v]en me[,] these held long furious passions to confine for all unfit I feel my powers to be to guide[.] To guide their torrent in the allowed line, O' aid me with thy help, Omnipotence divine!¹⁵

In the eve[ning] called upon Miss Kate Chase at Hoytsville.¹⁶ [P]leasant time in her company & the family with whom she stays.

[November 9, 1890] Took train this A.M. for Farmington¹⁷ where I

der construction for twenty years. It was a grand Victorian Gothic structure with stained glass windows and ceiling paintings, among the impressive details, and cost \$55,000. Where Roberts comments on the low attendance and lack of enthusiasm in the stake, this may hint at the possible meaning of "Cluff's Hall." See, e.g., Thomas Wood and Douglas Hill, "The Coalville Tabernacle: A Photographic Essay," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2 (Summer, 1967), 62-75.

¹³ Francis Marion Lyman was born in 1840 in Goodhope, Illinois, to Amasa Lyman and Louisa Maria Tanner, his father being a future member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, as were both Francis and one of Francis's sons, Richard; in 1903 Francis would become president of the Quorum of the Twelve. Francis married Rhoda Taylor in 1857, Clara Caroline Callister in 1869, and Clara's sister Susan in 1884, and served a three-month prison sentence for polygamy in early 1889. He died in 1916 in Tooele, Utah.

¹⁴ Alma Elderidge (1841-1925) was a counselor to President Cluff. Roberts defeated Elderidge, the Republican candidate for Congress, in 1898.

¹⁵ Robert Burns, "Stanzas Written in Prospect of Death," stanza 3.

¹⁶ Located in Summit County between Coalville and Wanship, the town had been known earlier as East Plymouth and Unionville.

¹⁷ Farmington is a few miles north of Centerville.

had an ap[pointmen]t. with [the] 56[th] Quorum [of] Seventies. Arrived at 12-30. Attended afternoon service occupied part of time in a discourse on the wonderful features of work of God in last days — related items of experience on Custom House steps [in] Belfast.¹⁸ At four P.M. met with 56[th] Q[uorum] and gave general instructions on a number of topics: among others advised the meeting of the pres[ident] of [the] Q[uorum] in council for consultation on matters pertaining to q[uorum] affairs — had the mem[bers] of council sustained by q[uorum]. Ordained E. A. Cottrell¹⁹ & A. L. Clark²⁰ presidents in council of 56[th] qu[orum], & Franklin D. Welling²¹ a Seventy. Louisa came up with the children in the carriage to take me home. Called on sister Wealthy Clark²² [for] a few minutes. She was rejoicing with her babe, born to ~~them~~ her after 11 y[ea]rs of married life. She gave her husband another wife some y[ea]rs ago & I believe the Lord accepted her sacrifice and blessed her with this son. She is a woman of great faith, a daughter of Apostle F[ranklin] D. Richards. The drive home was fine[,] the western horizon a perfect sea of glorious light above which rose the somber gray of the clouds and approaching n[igh]t [which was] spent there with Louisa & little ones. Adah our eldest daughter attended a lecture in church.

[November 10, 1890] Glorious morning. Rose at five. Wrote art[icle] for Semi-W[EEKLY] *H[era]ld*. "The Jews". Sent it to City by B[isho]p

¹⁸ The nature of Roberts's reference to his experience in Belfast, Ireland, seems to be lost to history.

¹⁹ Edward Abraham Cottrell was born in 1857 in London, England. A plasterer by profession, he married Laura Lovena Steed (1860-1924) in 1881 in Salt Lake City and Delina Frances Peacock O'Neal (1875-1947) in 1928 in Farmington, Utah. He died in 1938 in Farmington.

²⁰ Amasa Lyman Clark, brother-in-law of E. A. Cottrell, was born in 1865 in Farmington, Utah, to the prominent family of Ezra T. and Mary Stevenson Clark. Amasa married Alice Charlotte Steed (1867-95) in 1885 and Susan Jane Duncan (1872-1965) in 1897. He died in 1968 in Salt Lake City.

²¹ Franklin David Welling was born in 1867 in Farmington, Utah. He married Polly Estella Secrist (1874-1909) in 1890 and Emelia Marie Madsen (1877-1961) in 1911. He died in 1932 in Salt Lake City.

²² Wealthy Richards was born in 1861 in Farmington, Utah, to Franklin D. and Mary Thompson Richards. As Roberts mentions, Wealthy's father was an LDS apostle. Wealthy married Edward Barrett Clark (1859-1955) in 1879 in Salt Lake City, and Roberts refers to her son Edward Franklin Clark (1890-1972). Wealthy died in 1940 in Farmington.

Porter. Spent rest of day until late in afternoon on Hist. [of] Pres. Taylor. Late in afternoon drove to Farmington. Obtained receipt for \$9.10 for Miss [Kate] Chase of Mrs. [Laura] Cottrell. Enjoyed drive. Attended meeting of taxpayers of two school Dist[ri]cts to consider propriety of uniting two districts in to one. I favored union as did also the most of the brethren present. It was opposed by Th[omas] Brandon.²³ Committee ap[pointed]t to draft petition for ~~the~~ uniting. Refused ap[pointmen]t on it because I expect to be absent.

[November 11, 1890] Rose late for me — 7 A.M. Cloudy & chilly. Worked on Pres. Taylor's Hist[ory] until ten A.M. Took 10-30 train for Salt Lake City. Called on Pres. Morgan and with him waited upon Pres[idents] Woodruff, Cannon and Smith. The object of my visit was that sometime before I had written a letter to the Presidency telling them ~~that~~ of my labors during the past six months and asking them to make an appropriation of six hundred dollars to aid me in my straightened financial circumstances. I also asked them what their wishes were in respect to my future labors in the ministry. Did they wish me to hold myself in readiness to attend conferences, meetings etc, devoting the major part of my time to the ministry as hitherto looking to occasional appropriations from them; or was I at liberty and would they prefer me to find other business for myself and merely attend to labors in the ministry as I found it convenient. I had addressed this letter to the brethren because my affairs ~~to~~ financial had reached that point when something must be done [toward] looking to my relief in those matters. I have two wives and six children, and I find that to provide for them under the circumstances, living as one wife and two children do in the state of Colorado,²⁴ and the others in Utah, requires considerable

²³ There were two Thomas Brandons in Centerville in 1890: Thomas Jefferson Brandon (1832-1916) and his son Thomas Jefferson Brandon (1858-1941).

²⁴ Originally, Celia lived just a block away from Roberts's other wife, Louisa, in Centerville. While B. H. was on the underground, Celia moved seven times through Utah and Idaho, then to what B. H. refers to as "a little cottage" in Manassa, Colorado, before returning to Centerville. Celia's children were five-year-old Lena and nine-month-old Harold; Louisa's children were eleven-year-old Adah, seven-year-old Benjamin, four-year-old Louisa Emeline, and one-year-old Luna (Thomas died shortly after birth in 1881). Celia would later give birth to Hazel, Naola, Georgiana, Joanna, David, and Lawrence; Louisa to Hortense and Katharine. Margaret had four children by a previous marriage. See *Defender*, 182, 185, 186, 276-77 (where the list of children dupli-

means and fills one occasionally with anxiety fra <for> the future. It was As they had not replied to this letter and it must have been in their hands some time, at the suggestion of my friend, Pres. Morgan, I made this call. The brethren were extremely busy, but I learned that they had considered my letter, and had decided to give make the appropriation, and release me to look after my own affairs, and <only> do what I could in the ministry without inconvenience to myself. Pres. Cannon remarked that a man's first duty was to his family — a remark evidently made without reflection and on the spur of the moment. At best it is not one on which I have worked, as I have often sacrificed my family, and its interests to labor in the interests of the Kingdom of God, believing in the scriptures: "Seek first the Kingdom of God <and its righteousness> and all other things shall be added unto you." My faith is that such will be the case. He has blessed me and my family. We have up to date lac[ked] neither food nor reiment nor a good habitation in which to dwell. Friends have been raised up to us when we have needed them; and I have always said that when the Lord denied me fortune he gave me friends which is much better. O, Lord, in Thee will I trust! Open up the way before me and that I may still labor in thy vineyard and for the good of my fellow man rather than for gold or ought it can buy. And what is of still more concern, help what ever may be my fortune, or wherever I may wander, help me to be worthy to be thy servant and to find my place in life. The other brethren of the Council of Seven Pres[idents] of Sev[enty] had sent in a request for similar appropriations. The Presidency referred to this it but had not yet acted upon it. Am of the opinion that while present request may be granted it to the brethren will be[,] so far [as the present communication indicates,] relieved from ministry as to look after their own affairs & receive no assistance from Ch[urch]. Took dinner at Bro. M[organ]'s, after which went to Hist[orian's] Office²⁵ and assisted Apostle A[braham] H. Cannon²⁶ & Pres. Mor-

cates the name Lena, omits Luna, and uses the nicknames "Josie," "Loa," and "Lola" for Joanna, Louisa Emeline, and Naola. Madsen's index also erroneously lists an additional "son," "Newell," who is nevertheless not mentioned in the text of the book; see p. 453; Gary James Bergera, ed., *The Autobiography of B. H. Roberts* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 180; diary entry for 26 Jan. 1893.

²⁵ This was the old Historian's Office, a three-story building mid-block on South Temple between State and Main Streets on the south side of the street—across from

gan setting some 30 Elders apart for missions to foreign lands, quite a number for Samoa in the Pacific. The manager of the S[alt] L[ake] Theatre [Charles Burton]²⁷ meeting me on the st[reet] p[ro]f[er]ing presented me with two tickets to theatre which I accepted. and Invited my old office friend Mac (Duncan McAllister),²⁸ to accompany me to the "show," Carlton's opera Co.²⁹ Had a pleasant eve[ning]. [S]tayed at Morgans.

[November 12, 1890] Pleasant morning. Up at seven. Took train 8-10 A.M. train for home, and took Sister Roberts to City to do fall shopping. Attended [to] several items of business. Paid \$130.00 tithing & settled several bills. Returning home I prepared for work; but sisters Ada Randall and Amy Woolley³⁰ came in to see me. Had pleasant eve[ning] with them. After they left I went to work on art[icle] for semi-w[ee]kly *H[era]ld*. which I did not finish until one o'clock.

[November 13, 1890] Up at five. Fine day. After several items of business among which was payment of \$100.00 to W. H. Streeper.³¹ I

where the current Church Administration Building stands. Next door to the east was the Gardo House where the First Presidency had its offices.

²⁶ Abraham Hoagland Cannon (1859-1896), the son of George Q. Cannon, was sustained a member of the First Council of Seventy in 1882 and ordained an apostle in 1889.

²⁷ Charles Samuel Burton was born in 1855 in Salt Lake City. He served a mission to Australia in 1875-77 and married Julia Young (1859-89) in 1878 and Josephine Y. Beatty (1874-1942) in 1893. In addition to managing the theater from 1887 to 1907, Burton was the business manager of the *Salt Lake Herald* from 1885 to 1887. He died in 1923 in Salt Lake City.

²⁸ Duncan M. McAllister (1842-1921) was the business manager of the Church Mission Office in Liverpool when Roberts was serving there in 1887.

²⁹ According to ads in the *Deseret News*, the company styled itself the "largest, strongest and best" comic opera company in America. That night's performance was "Erminie," a three-act comic opera by Harry Paulton based on Benjamin Antier's "L'auberge des Achets."

³⁰ Julia Adarena Woolley Randall and Amy Irene Woolley Cherry were sisters, both daughters of John Wickersham and Julia Searles Ensign Woolley. Ada was born in 1859 in Centerville, Utah. She married Orrin Harley Randall (1850-1918) in 1877 and died in 1921 in Centerville. Amy Woolley was born in 1868 in Centerville, married Thomas Cherry (1870-1936) in 1893, and died in 1921 in Victor, Idaho. Roberts's mother, Ann, was a plural wife of John Wickersham Woolley, marrying him on 4 October 1886.

³¹ William Henry Streeper was born in 1837 in Philadelphia. He married Mary Amelia Richards (1849-1920) in 1867 in Salt Lake City and died in 1930 in Centerville, Utah.

took morning train for Col[orado]. Spent the day in reading — principally D'Au-begin[e's] Hist[ory] of [the] Reformation.³² On board we had <a> Mrs. Saulsbury³³ — evidently a resident of S.L.C. but a bitter anti-M[ormon] judging from her conversation with an Ex-Governor [Alvin] Saunders³⁴ of Nebraska, at present a member of the Utah Commission³⁵ on his way to Omaha. In their conversation they were about evenly divided in their sympathy & contempt. They little know that of all people the Saints are above both pity & contempt.

[November 14, 1890] Train delayed by snow storm — did not reach Denver until late in the afternoon. Had expected to secure a pass to Antinito³⁶ & return to Denver but the best I could do was to get ½ rate \$13.70. Bought some experience³⁷ in Denver — stayed all n[igh]t at the American House; good hotel.

[November 15, 1890] Fine day. Left on 8 A.M. train for the south.

³² Roberts refers to Jean Henri Merle d'Aubigné (1794-1872) whose *History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* was one of the best known and widely published nineteenth-century accounts.

³³ Probably Margaret Blaine Salisbury (1860-1921) who came to Utah as the young bride of businessman O. J. Salisbury in 1881. By 1893 her contacts with Mormon women leaders, especially after the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, brought her into close friendship with Emmeline B. Wells and others. After her death, the *Salt Lake Tribune* called her a "gracious hostess, a brilliant leader of society and an earnest and hard worker in charitable and benevolent undertakings."

³⁴ Alvin W. Saunders (1817-1899) was a supporter of Abraham Lincoln who served as territorial governor of Nebraska from 1861 to 1867. As a U. S. senator, 1877-1883, he chaired the Committee on Territories. He was appointed to the Utah Commission in 1889 and served until 1893.

³⁵ The five-member Utah Commission, formally known as the Board of Registration and Election in the Territory of Utah, was established by Congress in the wake of the Edmunds Act of 1862. Its charge was to vacate Mormon office holders and prevent polygamists from voting. The commission's powers were expanded in 1887 with the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act, which further limited Mormon voting. The commission was formally dissolved after Utah became a state.

³⁶ Antonito, about fifteen miles south of La Jara, was created by the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad in 1880 when the nearby Mexican town of Conejos refused to give land to the railroad company for a terminal. Conejos was settled in 1843 (although it was temporarily abandoned) and boasted a governor's palace, courthouse, cathedral, flour mill, and general store. However, by 1890 Antonito had already grown to over 300 inhabitants to Conejos's 500.

³⁷ Apparently Roberts uses the word "experience" to mean that the time and money spent trying to get a complimentary pass had not been worth the effort.

Reached Pueblo[, Colorado,] at 12 noon. The time on all the roads is being changed ~~th~~ and all calculations as to time of reaching destination knocked out of all calculation. Put up at Southern Hotel. Wrote in afternoon an art[icle] for Semi W[EEKLY] *He[ra]ld* on folly of Christians opposing Mormonism on ground of its humble origin. Spent n[igh]t while waiting for train writing up journal & letters. Left for Alamosa[, Colorado,]³⁸ at 3 A.M.

[November 16, 1890] Fine day — arrived at Alamosa at 11 A.M. No train out further south & had to lay over all day. Spent time in reading. In eve[ning] attended service at [the] Presbyterian Church. Mr. Palmer, a young man the minister. Good service.

[November 17, 1890] Splendid day — Rose at six. Took train at 7 A.M. arrived opposite Manassa about ten and was soon home.³⁹ Met Found my wife [Celia] and children in perfect health, for which I am truly thankful unto thee O, Lord. Attended conference in the stake house. Met a number of personal friends, some of whom I had preached the gospel to in the South some years ago. They always seem glad to see me. Also met Apostle F[rancis] M. Lyman, my friend and brother. He was pleasant to meet me and it is always a pleasure for me to be in his company. At his request I occupied the principal part of the afternoon in speaking to the saints. Had moderately fair liberty. A number of friends called at my house in the eve[ning]. Among them Bishop [John C.] Dalton & wife, [Hannah]⁴⁰ and Brother & sister Lyman. Bro. Lyman invited to me to go with him to the [San Juan] stake⁴¹ conference — starting Thursday A.M. Promised to go.

[November 18, 1890] Fine day, rose early and spent the day in writing letters and an editorial for Semi-W[EEKLY] *He[ra]ld* — subject plain people. Spent the eve[ning] at home.

³⁸ Alamosa is in the San Luis Valley about fifteen miles north of La Jara. It was founded in 1878 as a railroad town.

³⁹ Roberts refers to his home in Manassa.

⁴⁰ John Cranmer Dalton was born in 1857 in Parowan, Utah. He married Hannah Daphne Smith (1857-1939) in 1876, served as bishop of Manassa, Colorado, for more than two decades, and died there in 1906.

⁴¹ Organized in 1883, San Juan stake was located in the Four Corners area and initially included parts of Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico.

[November 19, 1890] Another fine day. Began an article on the Labors of the Prophet Joseph Smith for the Dec[ember number] of the *Contributor*.⁴² In the morning sister Morgan⁴³ came in and at some length detailed her family troubles to me—a thing that is very unpleasant. She is the wife of my brother & friend John Morgan, and though he may have made mistakes, he is a good man and his wife should forgive him his errors.

Bro. [Francis M.] Lyman came in while she was there and gave her much good advice. He invited sister R[oberts] and myself to take dinner with him. We went to his house at 3 P.M. Met a number of sisters there and Bro. Pres. Elias Smith⁴⁴ and bro. Madsen. Had a very enjoyable time in conversation and singing etc. Returned home early and resumed work on art[icle] for *Cont[ributor]*.

[November 20, 1890] Up at five, finished article for *Cont[ributor]*. Made preparations for going to San Juan [stake].⁴⁵ In company with Apostle Lyman boarded the train at below Manassa, Pres. [Silas] Smith & Bishop Dalton taking us to the track; train passed at noon. The distance to Durango[, Colorado,] is 170 miles through the m[ountain]s.⁴⁶ The scenery in places is awful in its grandeur: especially is that the case at the Royal Gorge near the summit, where a monument has been erected to the memory of the late President

⁴² B. H. Roberts, "Joseph the Prophet," *Contributor* 12 (Dec. 1890): 57-60. Upon arriving home from England in 1888, Roberts was named editor of the *Contributor*, for which he also wrote articles albeit pseudonymously. He was succeeded by Abraham H. Cannon of the First Council of Seventy in 1892. See *Defender*, 180, 182; Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, *A Book of Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1982), 41.

⁴³ Morgan's first wife, Annie, was living in Manassa.

⁴⁴ Elias Asahel Smith was born in 1857 in Salt Lake City. He married Laura Lurena Nebeker (1856-86) in 1882 and Emily Catherine Weiler (1861-?) in 1892. Smith was a high councilor in the Salt Lake Stake and a member of the territorial legislature—serving as president of the legislative council, which is why Roberts refers to him by that title. Smith died in 1942 in Salt Lake City.

⁴⁵ The stake boundaries should not be confused with the two San Juan counties in southwestern Utah and southeastern Colorado; Roberts and company will travel to Montezuma County, Colorado, which lies between the two San Juan counties.

⁴⁶ Roberts was basically right that "Durango is 170 miles" (about 120 miles) "through the mountains," meaning that it was closer than the trip itself would be. In fact, they would have to travel north to Alamosa, veer out of their way to the northeast to Pueblo, turn west to cross the famous suspension bridge over the 1,000-foot Royal Gorge, and continue on through Salida and Montrose before turning south to Durango—a total of over 500 miles.

Garfield. We arrived at Durango about 10 P.M. and put up at the Blaine House.

[*November 21, 1890*] A clear beautiful day. Took stage at 7-30 P.M.[.] Bro. Lyman on the outside, myself and 2 other men on the inside. One was a Mr. Carlile a rail-road contractor then building an extension to the Durango division of the D[enver] & R[io] G[rande] Rail-road]. He was a profane man. The other was a young fellow who had enlisted in the army and was on his way to Fort [blank]⁴⁷ which we reached about ten o'clock. At the first station where we changed horses Bro. Lyman came on the inside which made it more pleasant, as I was freed from a companion who continually profaned & had one whose spirit blends with mine. Brother Lyman is a large man, standing fully six feet, and of heavy build. He weighs about 240 lbs and has weighed as high as 280. He is of a light, ruddy complexion, has a light blue eye, rather severe in its expression, oval face, and tawny beard. He is a man of commanding, noble presence, gives way to no light mindedness and is the embodiment of the righteousness. Strictly obeys the word of wisdom and as strictly enjoins it upon others as he does all the other righteous laws of the gospel. About 2 p. m. we arrived at a settlement of the Saints on the Mancos River, known as the Mancos Ward[, Colorado].⁴⁸ The stage stops at hotel kept by a Bro. W[illia]m Hyde⁴⁹ of Salt Lake City. There we met Pres. [Frances] Hammond⁵⁰ of the San Juan Stake formerly B[isho]p of Huntsville, Weber Co[unty,] Utah. Stayed all n[igh]t at Pres. Hydes.

[*November 22, 1890*] Conference began at 10 A.M. good attendance. Pres. Hammond & Bro. Lyman occupied time.

⁴⁷ Roberts does not identify the fort, but it was likely Fort Lewis.

⁴⁸ Organized as a branch in 1884 and a ward in 1887, Mancos was some twenty-five miles west of Durango.

⁴⁹ William Hyde was born in 1832 in Marion, Illinois. He married Angeline Harris (1834-93) in 1852 and Mary Ann Green (1838-1912) in 1858. In 1880 he settled in Mancos, where he established a trading post. He died there in 1894.

⁵⁰ Frances Ashbury Hammond was born in 1822 in New York. He married Mary Jane Dilworth (1831-77) in 1848 in Salt Lake City, followed by marriages to Alice Howard (1845-73) in 1864 and Martha Marcusen Holmes (1826-?) at a later date. Hammond served as a missionary to the Sandwich Islands, 1850-1855, and as bishop of the Huntsville, Utah, ward, 1856-1884. He was president of the San Juan Stake from 1884 until his death in a carriage accident on 27 November 1900.

2 P.M.

Bishop reports. Presented authorities of Ch[urch]. I spoke short time subject — Faith the foundation of Righteous — breadth of foundation for faith widened by B[ook] of M[ormon,] etc the witnesses to book etc. 7 P.M. Young peoples meeting programme. Both Bro. Lyman & self spoke short time. Stayed all n[igh]t [at] Bp. [George] Halls.⁵¹ The country hereabouts is rolling even in the valleys & covered with growth of pinion pine & cedar made me think [of] some parts of South — understand there are numerous ruins of cliff dwellers some 8 or 10 mi[les] away.

[November 23, 1890] A beautiful day. Meeting 10 A.M. Bro[t]her [William] Halls,⁵² 1st Council[or] to Hammond, Bro. Platte D. Lyman⁵³ — [brother] to the Apostle, and a fine young man, and Apo[stle]. Lyman occupied time excellent spirit. At 2 P.M. met at the union School House where a <large> number of strangers were present as well as the Saints. Self occupied principal part of time. Subject What is Mormonism — What it is not — first principles. Fair liberty. Apost[le] Lyman followed[,] fine testimony to truth of what had been said. He had good liberty in testifying. Supper at Bro. Hyde's. A meeting in eve[ning] at Bp. Halls with Pres. of stake High Council & the b[ishops] b[is]ho[ps] [for an] enquiry as to tithing[,] w[ord] of w[isdom], honesty etc. Splendid spirit present — good time[,] all covenanted to do better wherein had been out of the way — retired late.

[November 24, 1890] Walked some 2 mi[les] with Bro. Lyman to late

⁵¹ George Halls was born in 1846 in Orsett, England. He came to Utah in 1862, settling in Huntsville; married Mary Moisselle Hammond (1857-1934) in 1876; moved to Mancos in 1886; and served as bishop of the ward from then until 1911. He died in 1917.

⁵² William Halls, older brother of George Halls, was born in 1834 in Orsett, England. He married Louisa Carritt Enderby (1840-1911) in 1861 in Hull, England; Johanne Marie Frandsen (1855-1913) in 1871 in Salt Lake City; and Eleanor Howard (1838-?) in 1880. He came to Utah in 1861 and settled first in Kaysville, then moved to Huntsville where he was a counselor to Bishop Frances Hammond from 1862 to 1885, whereafter he moved to San Juan. He died in 1920 in Mancos, Colorado.

⁵³ Platte DeAlton Lyman was born in 1848 on the banks of the Platte River near Goshen, Wyoming, to Apostle Amasa M. and Eliza Maria Partridge Smith Lyman. Platte married Adelia Robinson (1848-1909) in 1867 and Annie Maud Clark (1860-1908) in 1879, both in Salt Lake City. He was a counselor in the San Juan stake presidency, 1897-1901, and briefly served as stake president from 1 June 1901 until his death on 13 November that year in Bluff, Utah.

breakfast with ~~br~~ brothers & sisters of Bro. Lyman. One of the pleasant things of this trip has been to wit. the love that all the relatives of Bro. Lyman have for him — surely he is a prince in his father's house. Attended Primary⁵⁴ conference at 9-30 programme. [F]irst primary ever attended, good. Made few remarks as did Bro L[yman]. Bid adieu to our friends and started on return home. A sister [Mary] Roberts — wife of Clark R[oberts]⁵⁵ bro[ther] to Boliver R[oberts]⁵⁶ [of] Provo — took us by team to Durango. ½ way our horse took lame — slow trip arrived at D[urango] 7-30 put up at Blaine House. Took long walk through town — pleasant talk with Bro. L[yman].

[November 25, 1890] Weather still fine. Took train at 7-15 for home. Pleasant ~~day~~ conversation with Bro. L[yman]. H[e] related to me much of his travels in Mexico in 1885, and other experiences. Arrived at Manassa about five P.M. Found B[isho]p Dalton ready with carriage to take us home. Found family well except Harold, suffering from teeth. Spent eve[ning] reading papers.

[November 26, 1890] Rose early — fine day. Wrote art[icle] for *Herald* on weakness of Christian ministry. Wrote up journal to date. Rest day spent reading.

[November 27, 1890] Thanksgiving today. Beautiful day. Spent early hours of morning reading [and] at 10 A.M. attended service at Stake house. Met Bro. Lyman, occupied part of time — good freedom. Afternoon and early eve[ning] at Pres. [Silas S.] Smith's where we ate Thanks Giving dinner. Large company — splendid feast — good time. Late eve[ning] at home reading.

⁵⁴ In 1878 Aurelia Spencer Rogers of Farmington, Utah, sought a way to provide religious, physical, and social education for children. After consulting with Eliza R. Snow, president of the Relief Society, Rogers was appointed to begin such an organization, called the Primary Association, in Davis County. Shortly afterwards, a chapter of the association was created in the Salt Lake Stake. In 1880 it became a churchwide auxiliary, and it continues to this day. See Carol Cornwall Madsen and Susan Staker, *Sisters and Little Saints: One Hundred Years of Primary* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1979).

⁵⁵ Mary Knowlton Coray (1848-1923) married Orville Clark Roberts (1833-1912) in 1868 in Provo, Utah.

⁵⁶ Bolivar Roberts was born in 1831 in Winchester, Illinois. He married Emma Parnella Benson (1842-?) in 1868 in Salt Lake City and died in 1893.

[November 28, 1890] Still fine. ~~Worked all day on Pres. T's history~~
Drove wife & children to Antinito to do some shopping. Sat. 29
Eve[ning] spent in reading & wrote art[icle] for *Herald*. Bro Lyman
left for S.L.C.

[November 29, 1890] Beautiful day — worked all day on Pres.
T[aylor]'s Hist[ory].

[November 30, 1890] Fine day — spent morning reading. Service at 2
P.M.; and again at 6-30. Spoke short time in afternoon.

[December 1, 1890] [The weather c]ontinues fine. Worked all day on
Pres. T[aylor]'s Hist[ory], art[icle] for *Her[a]ld* in eve[ning].

[December 2, 1890] Sunshine — Pres. <T[aylor]'s> Hist[ory] all day
~~and art. for Herald in eve~~ — good days w[or]k. Attended Seventies
Meeting eve[ning] & conducted class exercise. Also ordained
James Patterson⁵⁷ seventies 92 quorum. He is a Lamanite of the
<Catawba> Chicksaw tribe comes from So[uth] C[arolina] — late
eve[ning] read papers.

[December 3, 1890] Spent day at home [in Manassa and] worked on
Pres. T[aylor]'s Hist[ory].

[December 4, 1890] Ditto. Had company in afternoon <Pres. Smith
& wife, sisters Grant, Smith & [Clara] Lyman⁵⁸ wife of apost[le] of
that name.> Snowed in night.

[December 5, 1890] Ditto — and in eve[ning] I lectured to good sized
audience on The New Witness (B[ook] of M[ormon]). Good liberty)

[December 6, 1890] Worked ~~part of~~ all day on Pres. Taylor's hist[ory]
and on art[icle] for *He[r]ald*.

[December 7, 1890] Attended Y.M.[M.]I.A. Conference at 10 A.M.
Took sister McKay home with me to dinner. Pleasant time. Leaving

⁵⁷ James Goodwin Patterson was born in 1849 in Chester, South Carolina. He married Elizabeth Missouri White (1849-1934) in 1868 in York, South Carolina; he died in 1931 in Sanford, Colorado.

⁵⁸ Clara Caroline Callister Lyman was born in 1850 in Salt Lake City. She married Apostle Francis M. Lyman (1840-1916) in 1869 and died in 1892 in Manassa.

children, Lena [Celia], sister McKay and self went to meeting at which it was arranged that I should continue the subject began on Friday eve[ning]. Had good liberty. The Lord truly blesses me more than I deserve. Great is his mercy. Spent the [early] eve[ning] with sister R[oberts] at the house of Bro. Madsen, Bro. & sister Christensen & sister Lyman present. Dreams visions interpretations etc., the topics of conversation.

[December 8, 1890] The day had ap[pointmen]t to return to Utah forenoon. Spent in making preparations. At 4 P.M. bid my wife and little ones good bye. Bp. Dalton kindly drove me to train. Had to drive fast breach point. Enroute home read several books — trash!

[December 10, 1890] Arrived home [Centerville] at 5 P.M. Found Louisa and children all well[,] though little Luna had been a little unwell[,] now better. I thank thee O, Lord for thy goodness to me and to mine. Ever protect and guard us. Pleasant eve[ning] with children & wife.

[December 11, 1890] Attended Council [of Seventy] Meeting in S.L.C. at 11 A.M., six presidents present. The council seemed worked up about my being released from ministry — regretted it very much and think complications will grow out of it. I pray O, Lord that no difficulty may occur through it. Help thy servant to keep the path direct, neither turning to the right or left. And in as much as thou wilt enable me to sustain my family I will devote myself to the ministry to the extent that Thou wilt give the ability to do so. Thou O, Lord cans't do as seemeth Thee good in these matters[,] that I know[,] therefore I will trust in thee. Here is my hand lead me wheresoever Thou wilt and I will gladly follow. Show thy Servant out of these <&> all other difficulties and he will praise thy name for ever through the name of Jesus thy Son — Amen.

VIII.

*Stumping in Utah,
Idaho, and Wyoming*

1891 - 1892

I commence this page the tenth of Nov Feb[ruary] 1893.¹ For more than two years I have neglected my journal, and I shall fill up the gap between Dec[ember] 11, 1890 to Jan[uary] 5, 1893 — when I again commenced journalizing — from memory. I may not get matters in their proper sequence but the chief things I can doubtless remember very accurately.

Notwithstanding I had been released from the ministry by the brethren to look after my own affairs,² I continued to do much work in the ministry, not slack<en>ing my energies in the least. I continued writing Editorials for the semi-weekly Herald which with my installments for writing the History of President Taylor enabled me to meet my current expenses. The matter of my release from the ministry, and was often a subject of remark among my fellow Presidents [of The First Council of Seventy], especially with bro. Jacob Gates our senior President. He felt indignant about it and fre-

¹ This part of the journal follows directly after Roberts's last entry of 11 December 1890. As he indicates, it is a retrospective that he began on 10 February 1893 and worked on during the year.

² The issue was whether Roberts would be a full-time church employee, not his status on the First Council of Seventy. In 1890 the leadership advised him to pursue a profession and devote whatever time he could to the council. See Roberts's diary entry for November 11, 1890.

quently urged me to pay no attention to it; but go on in my labor and when I needed assistance apply for it as the rest did. This I would not do; that is, I did not in anyway slacken my labors in the ministry, for I filled all appointments made for me by the council, attended quarterly conferences, responded to numerous invitations to deliver lectures, etc; but I would not, and did not call on the brethren for assistance; <tho[ugh] at times I was sorely pressed for means.>

Some time in January <1891,> I think, I received a letter from the First Presidency appointing me to assist Elder John W. Taylor in the establishment of a Free Will Offering Fund throughout the Church. The heavy expenses forced upon the Church of late years by the judicial ~~raid~~ crusade inaugurated and carried on by the government, together with the confiscation of its most valuable property — from which hitherto the Church hath derived its income made it necessary to call upon the people for assistance besides their regular tithing, which for some time had been insufficient to meet the expenses of the church.³ The deficiency had hitherto been made up to borrowing money, and by calling upon wealthy brethren to contribute means which they had done, and that very liberally, too, but some of them began to feel it a burden, and this Free Will Offering Fund was designed to relieve them a part of the burden and give all <the Saints> a chance to assist the Church in these its straightened circumstances. The plan was <Elder> John W. Taylor's the Apostle, and son of the late Pres. John Taylor.⁴ The plan, in brief, was to divide the several Ecclesiastical Wards into convenient districts and appoint a collector over each district, whose duty it should be to visit ~~the families~~ every family within said district every month to solicit and collect the amount each family

³ The territorial supreme court directed U.S. Marshal Frank H. Dyer in 1887 to confiscate LDS church assets, including the temple block, Tithing Office, Gardo House, and Historian's Office. Dyer rented these buildings back to the church and gave the proceeds to the territorial schools. This created a financial crisis for the church that resulted in assignments for Roberts and others to go out and raise funds. See, e.g., Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 251-59; also the subsequent discussion in this chapter.

⁴ President John Taylor died in 1887 in Kaysville, north of Farmington, and was succeeded two years later as church president by Wilford Woodruff, who had been president of the Quorum of the Twelve.

or member thereof felt willing to subscribe each month. The Saints were to be urged to subscribe such an amount as they felt able to continue to pay month by month without fail; and by all doing something, it was hoped to relieve the Church without burdening anybody.

Elder Taylor was told that he could have any brethren to assist him he might choose. Among others, it seems, he chose myself, and the First Presidency called me as already stated. Among others called to this work was Elder Anton H Lund,⁵ one of the Twelve; John Morgan; Seymour B. Young;⁶ C. D. Fjelsted; Geo M. Cannon.⁷ Royal B. Young⁸ (It was here I think I first made his acquaintance); Jos[eph] McMurrin;⁹ Jos[eph] Summerhays;¹⁰ and Frank Y. Taylor; M. F. Cowley, and some others I do not now rem~~em~~ber.

We held a number of Council meetings; dividing up the Territory into large districts. To Elders Jos[eph] Summerhays, Frank Y. Taylor and myself were assigned the ~~even~~ wards <of even n[umber]s, that is 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 etc.> of Salt Lake City; all of Davis, Weber, and Utah Stakes. My associates in this labor were both very earnest, energetic men and we had some very interesting times together as

⁵ Anton Henrik Lund (1844-1921) was ordained an apostle in October 1889. He later served as a counselor to church presidents Joseph F. Smith and Heber J. Grant.

⁶ Seymour Bicknell Young (1837-1924) was set apart as one of the First Seven Presidents of Seventy in 1882 and sustained to that office in April 1883.

⁷ George Mousley Cannon was born in 1861 in St. George, Utah, to Angus M. and Sarah Maria Mousley Cannon. George married Marian Adelaide Morris (1861-1933) in 1884, Ellen Christina Steffensen (1877-1963) in 1901, and Katherine Vaughan Morris (1876-1930) in 1901, all in Salt Lake City. Cannon was active in church, business, and political affairs. A Republican, he served with Roberts at the Utah constitutional convention in 1895 and was elected to the state senate in 1896. He died in 1937 in Salt Lake City.

⁸ Royal B. Young was born in 1851 in Tooele, Utah. He married Mary Wood Pratt (1853-1911) in 1872, Emmaline Lavinia Rawlings (1855-1935) in 1876, and Agnes McMurrin (1860-1904) in 1882. Young was active in church, business, and political affairs and served a term in the Utah territorial prison, June 1886-February 1887, and paid a \$900 fine for unlawful cohabitation. He died in 1929 in Salt Lake City.

⁹ Joseph William McMurrin (1858-1932) was set apart as one of the First Seven Presidents of Seventy in 1897 and sustained to that office in Liverpool, England, in 1898.

¹⁰ Joseph William Summerhays was born in 1849 in England. He married Mary Melissa Parker (1852-1937) in 1870, Sarah Berrett (1862-1937) in 1884, Mary Catherine Bishop (1863-83) in 1882, and Hilda Jonsson (1870-1945) at an unknown date, all in Salt Lake City. Summerhays was active in both church and business. He served as a member of the Deseret Sunday School board and the General Board of Religion Classes. He died in 1929 in Salt Lake City.

well in our private consultations as in our public meetings. I became particularly attached to Bro Frank Y. Taylor. I found him the very soul of honor, generous and out-spoken. I relate one circumstance ~~which I~~ especially in evidence of this. Some years before we were associated in this labor, while he was a very young man, he was engaged with a party of surveyors in southern Utah, surveying a r[ail] r[oad] bed. The party was made up of men, in the main, not of Mormon faith; and it so happened that around the camp-fire in the evening, they unbent themselves and related their personal adventures; and everyone of them had some conquest ~~to relate and~~ over the opposite sex to relate and boast of. These relations were received with great gusto by the party, and the more atrocious the outrage of female confidence, the more skill (deceit) necessary to accomplish the end, the greater was the enjoyment of the company. It so chanced after the work of surveying was finished the company returned to Salt Lake City; and several of them by some mis-chance secured invitations to a dancing party in the 14th Ward. That being the ward in which Frank lived, he, too went to the party. His fellow surveyors were delighted to see him there and, flocked about remarking "Now Frank old boy we are glad to see you here; for as you are acquainted and we are strangers you can introduce us to the ladies and we'll [have] a good time." "Excuse me, gentlemen," replied Frank, "but I cannot do that. According to the stories of your adventures among women related and boasted of about the camp fires, you are scarcely the men I would wish to introduce my sisters to — a number of whom are present — or my female friends; it would be an outrage to do it; it would be unsafe." They remonstrated, got angry, but all to no purpose, Frank would not introduce them. I admire this. It <takes> a kind of courage to do it that is of the highest order — moral courage. Had such manliness been allways exhibited by all the Elders of Israel, how many hearts would have been saved from indiscrib[ab]le sorrow, how many homes from being blasted with a consuming grief. So I loved Frank.

Among those who were very kind to me during my labors in the wards of Salt Lake City were my old missionary friend and companion [James] Walter Eardley and his wife, especially the latter. I frequently stayed at their house, and here often met Margaret¹¹

¹¹ Roberts married Margaret Curtis Shipp (1849-1926) either in early spring 1890, according to Truman G. Madsen, or 1891, according to D. Michael Quinn. In

who in company with sister Eardley attended a number of the meetings held in the various wards.

After completing the wards assigned us in the City, Bro. Summerhays was transfered to some other district, and Frank and I went through Davis, Weber and Utah Stakes. This work occupied all the winter and ran far into the summer. We were eminently successful in our undertaking. The people accepted the proposition willingly, the organization was affected and considerable means raised for the Church. The last report I heard of it then had been collected upwards of \$21,000.

As nearly all my time for five months had been taken up, the brethren made an appropriation of \$500 for my benefit.

Meantime I continued to write on the Hist[ory] of Pres[ident] Taylor and for the semi w[ee]kly Herald. I also began a work I had contemplated for some time entitled "Outlines of Ecclesiastical History."¹²

In the midst of these labors I did not neglect the ministry but kept right on. I visited southern Utah ~~in June~~ <during the summer> going as far as St. George to attend conference. Attended conference down ~~in Parowan~~ <at> Cedar <City>, in the Parowan Stake and various other parts of the territory. I met with many difficulties, and much of the time was sorely tried in my feelings in respect to the position the Church had assumed.¹³

The Church had held for many years that a plurality of wives was a correct thing, and under divine commandment they had practiced that principle for many years — some of them since the

any case, Margaret divorced her former husband, Milford Bard Shipp, in June 1888 over difficulties with Milford's first wife. Margaret was born in St. Louis; married Milford in 1867; had nine children (see introduction); was married to B. H. in a ceremony presumably presided over by Daniel H. Wells; attended the Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia; and received a degree in obstetrics there in 1883. See Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 199-200; Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books and Smith Research Associates, 1997), 186, 686.

¹² B. H. Roberts, *Outlines of Ecclesiastical History* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1893).

¹³ In October 1889, about a year before President Wilford Woodruff issued the formal "Official Declaration" or "Manifesto" ending polygamy, he publicly stated that since becoming church president in April 1889, he had "refused to give any recommendations for the performance of plural marriages" and that the church meant "to obey" the law. See Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 135.

days of Nauvoo, in 1840, & '41; but it was not publicly declared a doctrine of the Church until the Saints settled in Salt Lake Valley. The doctrine had been practiced until a whole generation had grown up under it and it had become enshrined in the hearts of the people. In 1862 Congress enacted its first law against it. More laws in 1874, another in 1882, which was supplemented again in 1887.¹⁴ The severity of the persecution under these laws drove many of the brethren and their families [into hiding]. I myself as an Exile Missionary went to England in 1886 and remained about 2 years; and after my return delivered myself up to the officers and was imprisoned nearly six months for this principle. During the year 1890 the persecutions of our enemies threatened to be greater than ever. The prospect was that all the temples and the personal property of the Saints would be confiscated. In the midst of these threatening prospects, Pres. Wilford Woodruff being inspired of the Lord issued a manifesto, discontinuing plural marriage. This was early in Sept[ember] 1890. It so happened that about this time I was returning from a somewhat extended tour th[rough] Southern Utah. At Milford¹⁵ I joined Elders <F[rancis] M.> Lyman, J[ohn] H[enry] Smith,¹⁶ John W. Taylor and A[braham] H. Cannon all members of the quorum of the 12 on their way to Salt Lake City from Kanab where they had been settling difficulties. We left Milford in the eve[ning] and was due in Salt Lake next morning at 10 A.M. But [a] train that left Salt Lake for the south, making the trip also in the n[igh]t[,] was wrecked a short distance above Deseret Oasis¹⁷ and tore up the track for half a mile or more. Consequently we found when we woke up in the morning that we had not completed half the journey. Learning that <we> were only a few miles from the wrecked train (no one had been hurt), Elder Taylor and myself started for the scene of the disaster. A hand car loaded with section

¹⁴ Roberts refers to the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act (1862), the Poland Act (1874), the Edmunds Act (1882), and the Edmunds-Tucker Act (1887). A good overview can be found in James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 312-13, 356-58, 394-95, 404-22.

¹⁵ Milford is located some twenty miles west of Beaver City in southwestern Utah.

¹⁶ John Henry Smith (1848-1911) was ordained an apostle in October 1880 and later served as a counselor to church president Joseph F. Smith. He was active in supporting the Republican Party.

¹⁷ Oasis lies next to Deseret and Bloomington (later renamed Hinckley).

men & tools soon overtook us and we rode with them to the wreck. It was only a number of freight cars and flat cars load[ed] with steel rails w that had been thrown from the track [and] the two passenger coaches were O.K. In these cars Elder Taylor, who entered them while I was lingering about on the outside talking with the passengers, found the Salt Lake papers containing Pres. Woodruff's Manifesto. As soon as I entered the car he called to me and showed me the papers wh containing the document, the head lines of wh[ich] I read with astonishment. But no sooner had I read them, than like a flash of light all thro[ugh] my soul the Spirit said — "That is all right," so it passed. Then I began to reflect upon the matter. I thought [of] all the Saints [who] had suffered to sustain that doctrine; I remembered my own exile, my own imprisonment; I thought of that of others. I remembered what sacrifices my wives had made for it; what others had made for it. We had preached it, sustained its divinity from the pulpit, in the press, from the lecture platform. Our community had endured every kind of reproach from the world for the sake of it — and was this to be the end? I had learned to expect that God would sustain both that <principle> and his Saints for who carried it out, and to lay down like this was a kind of cowardly proceeding [so] that the more I thought of it the less I liked it. I thought of [Martin] Luther, of [Ulrich] Zwingli,¹⁸ of [Philipp] Melancthon¹⁹ and host of other men who only having fragments of the truth risked all their fortune and their lives in support of them and won the admiration and respect of all the world; while we having a fulness of the truth must needs fly from it like a skittish jade at a windmill²⁰ because, forsooth, we are threatened with imprisonment disfranchisement and the confiscation of our property. Such is a specimen of the reflection which passed thro[ugh] my mind; so that by Bro. Taylor seemed to share them to some extent and by the time the other brethren came up I was in quite an exasperated mood, and felt crushed and humiliated. Our information seemed to agitate Bro. J. H. Smith somewhat, Bro. Lyman was

¹⁸ Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) was a theologian, reformer, and founder of the Reformierte Kirche (Swiss Reformed Church).

¹⁹ Philipp Melancthon (1497-1560), an intellectual and theologian, was a collaborator and friend of Martin Luther.

²⁰ If a reference to Don Quixote's nag, Rocinante, is intended, the metaphor is interesting because, in the story, Rocinante charges the windmill without hesitation and becomes injured when Quixote's lance catches in the sail.

unruffled by it; Bro. Cannon took it with easy grace.²¹ ~~It was soon arranged~~ An engine was sent down from Juab and hitched to the coaches that had remained on the track in the wrecked train and we started for Salt Lake. I was in no humor for conversation, hence I left the car in which the brethren were riding and took a seat by myself and gave full freedom to reflection. Bro. Lyman hunted me up after a while and talked with me on the subject of the Manifesto, but his reasoning was [in] vain. For every excuse he could bring up for its issuance I could bring ten reasons (sufficient to my mind) why we should hold to the principle even tho[ugh] it cost the very annihilation of the church.

The matter continued to disturb me until Conference approached. Bro. Woodruff had signed the paper himself and I concluded that he had determined to carry the responsibility ~~himself~~ <alone,> and I had began to be reconciled to ~~that~~ the Manifesto on that ground. But during the conference I saw that movements were on foot to have the whole people support <it>, a proceeding I viewed with alarm. When the crisis came I felt heart-broken but remained silent. It seemed to me to be the awfulest moment in my life, my arm was like lead when the motion was put; I could not vote for it, and did not.

Well, as I was saying this matter continued a trial to me thro[ugh] the year 1891, and plagued me much, but I said but little about it; and by and by I began to remember the flash of light that ~~first~~ came to me when first I heard of it, and at last my feelings became reconciled to it. Perhaps I had transgressed in pushing from me the first testimony I received in relation to it, and allowing my own prejudices, and my own shortsighted, human reason to stand against the inspiration of God and the testimony it bore that the manifesto was alright. When this fact began to dawn on my mind I repented of my wrong and courted most earnestly the spirit of God for a testimony and gradually it ~~returned~~ came. I did not understand the purposes for which it <the Manifesto> was issued (I do not to this day, Feb 10 '93) but sure I am that it is all right; that God

²¹ Roberts's traveling companions would have been more likely than Roberts to have been privy to discussions leading up to the Manifesto. In any case, it is interesting that three of the apostles—Abraham H. Cannon, John Henry Smith, and John W. Taylor—continued to perform plural marriages and that John Henry Smith took another wife in 1896. See D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890-1904," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Spring 1985): 14.

has a purpose in it I feel assured, and in due time it will be manifest. The principle of plurality of wives is true[,] I know[,] and in connection with all other truth will eventually prevail and be established on the earth; but I do not pretend to say what God's purpose is or what is to be accomplished by it. It is a matter in which I trust the divine wisdom implicit. God must be his own interpreter and in time will make it plain.

This year for some unaccountable reason has been a y[ea]r of deep sorrow to me, and peculiar temptations. The flashes of light — heavenly <light> — have been startlingly bright, made to appear so to me, perhaps, by the thick blackness that was gathered about my horizon. But if my sorrows have been many my joys have been correspondingly keen, and there have been bright moments of joy and extacy such as few mortals encompass; and if these bright drops of joy cannot be possessed only by drinking the draughts of ill between — then fill sorrow's cup to the brim and I'll drain it dry even to the dregs and never murmur. Give me the gleams of sunshine amid <these> renewing storms and I will stand uncovered to receive the latter in all its fury without a word of protestation.²²

I think it was in '91 that our people changed fronts in respect to the political changes. Up to this time the political parties <in Utah> had been divided by Church lines <rather> than lines political. The members of the Mormon Church being assailed on account of their religion, naturally enough had banded together to defend themselves <& their religion> against their assailants. Utah being a territory, and its principal offices at the disposal of the president of the United States, and those appointed[,] not being from among the people resident in the territory[,] had no interests or sympathies in common with the [local] people. It was to the interest of the office holders to keep Utah a Territory that the offices might be given them by the President, until such time that the Gentiles should out number the Mormons, so that the former might have control of the state. To this political <consideration> which influenced affairs in Utah must be added the influence of s  e sectarian religious denominations <which,> jealous of the power of the Mormon church, were willing to do anything which looked to the destruction of that power. The sectarian ministers therefore joined

²² This paragraph includes some lines from Robert Burns's "Stanzas Written in Prospect of Death" and imagery from the New Testament.

with political adventure[r]s in assailing thro[ugh] the medium of politics the Mormon people. These parties had doubtless aspired to destroy the Church of Christ & the people of God. They manufactured and circulated the most damning falsehoods about the Saints and their religion. In 1882 there had been a concerted action thro[ugh]out the U.S. to force Congress ~~tho~~ by rousing popular sentiment, to enact ~~the~~ laws against the religion of the Saints. Meetings were accordingly held in all the principal cities of the country at which the most intemperate resolutions were adopted.²³ At the meeting held in Chicago[,] Joseph Smith [III]²⁴ — son of the prophet Joseph, made these remarks — and they are but a sample of the ~~spirit~~ falsehoods repeated every where —

Remarks of Joseph Smith at Chicago

There are hundreds and thousands of Mormons in Utah who will not marry wives, because they do not know where to get women that have not been contaminated. They do [not] know what houses have escaped the invasion of lecherous bishops who have robbed hundreds of women of their purity. The men can not afford to take the risk that marriage means.

From the Chicago Tribune of Feb. 23/82.

It was in this way — by such means that the legislation against the Saints was obtained. The officers in the territory entrusted with the enforcement of the law were cruel in the extreme and much hardship was brought upon the Saints in consequence thereof.

These considerations divided the people in their struggle for supremacy in the territory. It was Mormon vs. Gentile & Gentile against Mormon. Of course in the Territory the Mormons notwithstanding many of them were disfranchised were largely in the majority and could always carry the legislative ~~eu~~re & and the Delegate to Congress; but in Ogden, Salt Lake & Park City by the frauds they

²³ The *Congressional Record* contains anti-polygamy petitions from the American Baptist Home Missionary Society; the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States; the Methodist Episcopal Church of Philadelphia; Plymouth Church of Portland, Maine; the State of Michigan; “the citizens of Syracuse, New York”; and other groups (*CR*, 1882, 13:1, 343; 13:2, 1,258-59, 1,836, 1,843).

²⁴ Joseph Smith III (1832-1914), son of Joseph Smith Jr., became president of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, headquartered in Independence, Missouri, in 1860. He always claimed that his views had been misquoted by the *Chicago Tribune*.

were enable to practice – the election machinery all being in their hands – the Gentiles had captured those city governments. Still the city governments in the hands of the “outsiders” was so outrageously bad, and they tolerated such wickedness in the way of gambling dens, houses of prostitution, saloons open on Sunday and were so reckless in the expenditure of public means that the better element among the Gentiles became tired of their rule and began to propose a division of political matters on national party lines, sinking out of sight the differences which had hitherto divided them from their Mormon fellow citizens.²⁵

This proposition originated in Ogden, and a number of the brethren with their friends from that city came down to Salt Lake to consult with the First Presidency on the subject and they gave their approval of the proposition, and the work of division began in Ogden. Brethren who were Republicans swung loose from their moorings in what had been called “The People’s Party” (Mormon Party) and those who were Democrats did the same and joined the Democratic Party. On their part many of the Gentiles severed their connection with the “Liberal” or Gentile Party and affiliated with the Mormon Republicans and Democrats respectively.

Shortly afterwards a similar movement was inaugurated in Salt Lake City. Gentiles proposed buying half or a little more than half of the stock in the Salt Lake Herald and converting it into a Democratic paper (It always had been Democratic in its leanings). This was done. Mr. [Byron] Groo,²⁶ The Editor in Chief was a staunch Democrat. I was accounted such [a Democrat] and continued to

²⁵ Where Roberts says that “Gentiles” proposed abandoning local political organizations and turning to national parties, Mormons nevertheless took the first step and non-Mormons dissolved their party a few years later. In the next few paragraphs, Roberts emphasizes that Mormons tended toward the Democratic Party and joined the anti-polygamy Republican Party only when directed to do so by church leaders. The literature on the politics of this period is abundant; the most essential include Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), and E. Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

²⁶ Byron Groo was born in Grahamsville, New York, in 1849 and married Julia Sutherland (1848-1916). Groo taught school; was a deputy territorial marshal, Salt Lake City marshal; joined the staff of the *Salt Lake Herald* in 1873 and was editor of the paper from 1876 to 1892; served as registrar of the U. S. Land Office in 1893-97 and as a member of the state board of land commissioners in 1897-1904; and was active in business and banking. He died in 1915 in Salt Lake City.

write for it, tho[ugh] my connection with the Herald at this time and for some time back <is and> has been nominal. I think Col. Hyde formerly of the St. Louis was added to the Editorial Staff and Mr. [A. L.] Pollock²⁷ also. Altho[ugh] I continued to write for the Herald I took no other active part in politics.

About this time, that is shortly after the change in the Salt Lake Herald a Republican meeting of some kind was held in the [Salt Lake] Theatre and Apostle John H[enry] Smith appeared upon the platform and announced himself a Republican and declared his intention to work in the interest of that party. He did so and doubtless with much more zeal than wisdom: for everywhere he went he devoted himself to proselyting for the Republican party both in season and out. This brought not in some instances unjust criticism, and much unpleasantness arose out of <it.> Not because he had declared himself a Republican but because of his unwisdom in advocating his doctrines at improper places, times and manner.

Meeting with Bro. Moses Thatcher²⁸ one morning on the train enroute for Salt Lake, and their being some adverse criticism in that mornings paper about some remarks which Bro. T[hatcher] had made he laughingly said — “B. H., let you and I stay out of it. It is not a wise thing to engage in.” I told T[hatcher] those were my sentiments and I had not purposed taking an active part in politics.

Matters went on perhaps for about a year; the political question meantime gradually growing hotter. I received many invitations to speak at political gatherings but refused to accept them. The most urgent requests came from Utah County, for by this time the division movement as it was called had spread throughout the Territories, and the People’s Party had disbanded. <Some ap-[pointmen]ts were made for me for Utah County, but the Spirit whispered me to keep out of it & I canceled them the very afternoon I was to start to fill them. This I did because of the voice of the S[pirit] to me.>

Some time in 1892, May, I think it was, a <Democratic> convention was called in Ogden to elect delegates to the National Demo-

²⁷ Pollock was an investor in the paper.

²⁸ Moses Thatcher (1842-1909) was ordained an apostle in 1879 and dropped from the Quorum of the Twelve in 1896. For a full discussion, see Edward Leo Lyman, “The Alienation of an Apostle from his Quorum: The Moses Thatcher Case,” *Dialogue* 18 (Summer 1985): 67-91.

cratic Convention in Chicago to nominate candidates for office of President & Vice President of the U.S. Meeting my friend Thatcher I learned that he expected to be at the convention and cordially invited me to be present also. I told him I would if I could get thro[ugh] some literary work I had on hand. It would seem that the Republicans had been taking an unwarranted advantage of Bro. Thatchers and my own scilence. They interpreted it to mean that the First Presidency were giving encouragement to the Republican brethren, Bro[ther]s J[ohn] H[enry] Smith, John Morgan, C[hristian] D. Fjelsted & others and were gaging Bro. Moses & myself. This accusation grew stronger and stronger until there was danger of many leading Gentile Democrats going back into the Liberal party; for that party still had a substantial existance not withstanding so many of its best men had gone into the respective national parties. Our Democratic Gentile friends began to suspect that the First Presidency were shaping the character of the politics of our people by priestly influence, not withstanding they had given the most positive assurance of the separation of Church and State with us both in theory and practice — The following are their words — [a page and half of the diary are blank]

When things began to assume this phase I ~~concluded it was an~~ that is when Republicans began to make capital out of our very scilence and work an injury to the reputation of the Church as well, I had ~~conell~~ concluded that scilence was no longer a virtue, and that both the interest of the Democratic party in Utah, and the interest of the Church of Christ required me to open out. Moreover in giving the political situation a more careful investigation I concluded that it would be unwise and improper to allow our Territory which we hope will soon be a sovereign state [to] fall <politically> into the hands entirely of strangers or political adventure[r]s; That the representatives of the old settlers and their descendants should have some influence ~~of~~ on the destiny of the future state, and to do so must take some part in politics. I presume like considerations had influenced Bro. Thatcher[;] at any rate he was attending the Ogden convention.

Having arrived at the conclusion above set forth the editorials I wrote in the Salt Lake Herald took on a bolder tone for Democracy and as I had heard on the streets and in various quarters the statements that our people ou<gh>t to divide up about evenly between

the two great national parties irrespective of political opinion, in order that they might be sought for by both parties, etc I wrote an article called False Lights²⁹ (see my scrap book) which created much comment at the time, and that of a favorable tenor among Democrats[,] but Republicans did not take to it so kindly, but such was its character that they could not take exceptions to it.

I was not able to attend the Ogden Convention, but wired to Bro. Moses my regrets and bode the Democratic cause God Speed. Bro. Moses Thatcher made a very able speech against centralization of power in government, a speech which held spellbound the convention which listened to it, and was the talk of the day for some time.

In the course of a day or two to the surprise of everybody Bro. Joseph F. Smith and J[ohn] H[enry] Smith came out in an open letter in the Republican papers denouncing Bro. Moses' speech and because he had made some incidental reference to the ~~war in~~ controversy in heaven, in which Lucifer tried to destroy the Agency of Man while Jesus upheld it, and hence because [he said Jesus was] the great advocate of human freedom etc.³⁰ (see speech & letter in my scrap b[oo]ks) they accused him of profaning the name of Jesus Christ; whitewashed the Republican Party and accused the Democratic Party with being the cause and instigators of all the wrongs heaped upon the Saints. ¶ They signed themselves as Republicans and the descendants of Whigs. I thought the attack cruel and unjust in the extreme, and utterly uncalled for. Called on Mr. Groo Editor in Chief of [the] Herald and asked about the propriety of taking up the defense of Bro. Moses. He thought it was a matter between Moses and the M[ister]s Smith <rather> than between the latter & the Herald; and asked <me> to write to Bro. Thatcher placing the columns of the Herald at his disposal. This I did and also wrote an Editorial under the caption "Bits of History" (see my scrap book). Before my letter reached Bro. Moses he had written a masterly reply to the Smiths, but answered my letter in a very friendly

²⁹ Moses Thatcher's *The Issues of the Times* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Semi-weekly Herald, 1892) includes his address, Roberts's "False Lights," and other responses.

³⁰ Roberts refers to the Latter-day Saint belief in a "war in heaven" in which Lucifer rebels against God and a pre-mortal Jesus seeks to overthrow him, offering a different plan of salvation. Lucifer and his followers are cast out of heaven. See Brent L. Top, "War in Heaven," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 4:1,546-47.

manner and thanked me for the Editorial I had written, which reached him almost as soon as my letter. This soon set the political pot to boiling in earnest. The air was full of comments and many of the Saints — especially the more timid ones put on serious faces to see brethren thus divided; And, indeed, the matter was serious, but I bear witness before God that I had no bitterness in my heart, nor have I had throughout the whole controversy, altho[ugh] I have seen much that I deplored.

Sometime after the Ogden convention (latter part of June) I went to Provo with Thatcher and held a political meeting — it was a ratification of the nomination of [Grover] Cleveland & [Adlai] Stevenson.³¹ We both spoke. Next day <(Saturday)> Conference in Utah Stake commenced. I returned Friday eve[ning] to Salt Lake. Bro. Moses remained at the Conference Saturday & then at n[igh]t went on to San Luis Valley in Col[orado]. Next day (Sunday) Presidency attended Conference and Bro. Jos. F. Smith stated in a discourse he delivered that day that there were brethren in the Church who were going contrary to the counsel of the First Presidency. He said it was not a serious matter as yet but there was danger. He stated he had no reference to political matters, but notwithstanding his disclaimer there were plenty who understood him and continued after his disclaimer to insist that he had reference to myself and Bro. Thatcher. If he did — which I cannot believe after his disclaimer — then it was a very unjust accusation so far as I am concerned as they had never said anything to me on the subject of politics and I esteemed myself perfectly free in the matter according to the public declarations of the brethren before written. But in the minds of many we <(Bro. M[oses] T[hatcher] & self)> were marked men.

I continued to write altogether politically now for the Herald and to teach Democratic principles to the best of my ability. This[,] with my work on the Outlines of Ecclesiastical History which was nearing completion[,] kept me exp extremely busy.

Sometime in September I think I went with Prof. J[oshua]. H.

³¹ Democrat Grover Cleveland (1837-1908) would be elected to a second, non-consecutive, term as president in 1892. His running mate, Adlai E. Stevenson (1835-1914), was the grandfather of the Illinois governor and Democratic presidential nominee of 1952 and 1956. See diary entry for March 4, 1893, for reference to Cleveland's second inauguration.

Paul,³² principal of the B[ri]gham Y[oung] College in Logan, thro[ugh] our towns in Davis Co[unty] making political speeches. And when in the Fall conventions

I began to hear rumors that the Presidency were displeased with the course I was taking in politics and especially with some of my writings, and among others Pres. Seymour B. Young the senior Pres[ident] in our council began pointing out passages in my writings and the writing of others and asking my opinion in regard thereto, etc. I gave very pointed answers to his enquiries as I felt some what indignant that my views should be enquired after in this indirect way since I had never smothered my opinions, and have always given free expression to my honest convictions and would to any one who might ask me. Bro. [John] Morgan warned me that there was [among the First Presidency] a feeling in that direction working up against me and advised that I call upon them but I felt that it was there place to call on me and point out my wrong if I was doing any. Bro. John W. Taylor also advised me that he had heard adverse criticism about some of my writings and asked me for a copy of "False Lights" which I gave him. His remarks were made in way of warning me; But I concluded to let matters work out their own way.

I would say, by the way, that during this summer I made a tour of southern Utah, joining Pre[sident]s [Wilford] Woodruff and [George Q.] Cannon in St. George, and tho[ugh] I had been with them several days no word of di[s]pleasure was uttered by them, tho[ugh] it is but proper to say that I had not been quite so prominent in politics in the early part of the summer as I had ea[ar]lier. Perhaps I was

Meantime the Republican Territorial convention was held in Salt Lake City; ~~was held~~ and Frank J. Cannon³³ & son of Pres. Geo[rge] Q. Cannon was put in nomination by ~~that~~ the Republican

³² Joshua Hughes Paul (1863-1939) was an educator and president of Utah State Agricultural College in Logan, later president of LDS University in Salt Lake City.

³³ Frank Jenne Cannon (1859-1933) was active in journalism and politics. As a Republican, he won elections as a territorial delegate, 1895-1896, and United States senator, 1896-1899. He later switched parties and served as chair of the Utah State Democratic Party. He became a bitter critic of the LDS hierarchy's influence in politics, co-authoring two books that were critical of Mormonism: *Under the Prophet in Utah: The National Menace of a Political Priestcraft* (Boston: C. M. Clark, 1911) and *Brigham Young and His Mormon Empire* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1913).

party. The day he was nominated[, i]n company with Elder J. H. Smith of the quo[rum] of the 12, I started for Cassia [County, Idaho,] stake conference taking my wife's sister, Luna Rampton with me. It was at Kelton Station³⁴ that we received the news of F. J. Cannon's nomination, a circumstance which Bro. Smith seemed to deplore, mainly on account of the ~~im~~ reputed immoral character of the man.³⁵ We had a pleasant tho[ugh] tiresome journey to Ok Oakley,³⁶ Cassia Co. Idaho, and it was extremely hard on Luna who was not well. We had a ~~pleasant~~ good conference. <Both> Bro. Smith & self enjoyed great freedom in speaking. Immediately after conference I returned to Salt Lake, Bro. Smith remaining to visit some relatives there and also as I think to put up some political fencing. Enroute [to Idaho] we had [had] with us on the stage coach "Kentucky Smith,"³⁷ a lawyer of some note in the west, and one who had been very bitter against our people, but now friendly owing to the suspension of polygamy and the division on <national> party lines.³⁸ Bro J. H. Smith suggested that perhaps we (he & I) might have something to say politically while among the people[,] he on the side of the Republicans, myself [on] the side of the Democrats. The bane and antidote said I. At which all laughed, and Kentucky Smith suggested that we could hold a conjoint meeting and divide

³⁴ Kelton Station was a stage and freighting station near the Idaho border. It included hotels, saloons, and a post office.

³⁵ For much of his life, Cannon, an "alcoholic" in the words of Jeffrey Nichols, swung from carousing "in saloons and brothels" to "periods of repentance and sobriety." See Nichols, *Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power*, (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2002), and Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Frank J. Cannon: Declension in the Mormon Kingdom," in Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher, eds., *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

³⁶ Oakley was approximately twenty miles over the Utah border.

³⁷ Harvey Walker "Kentucky" Smith was born in Hickman County, Kentucky, in 1856. He taught school and practiced law in Kentucky, 1873-1878, and settled in Malad, Idaho. When he was elected to the Idaho state legislature, he introduced bills to (1) prevent Mormons from voting or holding office, (2) require that voters affirm that they did not believe the doctrines of the church, and (3) divide the area where Mormons were the strongest into two counties, Bingham and Oneida, to dilute their influence. Smith came to Ogden, Utah, in 1887 and practiced law, first with Ransford Smith and later with his brother-in-law A. C. Beckwith. He was appointed a Fourth District Court judge in 1894 and served until his death in 1895 in Ogden. See Leonard J. Arrington, *History of Idaho*, vol. 1 (Moscow, Idaho: University of Idaho Press and Idaho State Historical Society, 1994), 372-73; and F. Ross Peterson, *Idaho: A Bicentennial History* (New York: Norton, 1976), 94-97.

³⁸ See Lyman, *Political Deliverance*, 150-83.

the time. The last day of conference (Monday) in the afternoon Bro. John [Henry Smith] said to me that he thought he would call the boys together who were Republicans and make them a little talk and organize them and set them at work. I submitted that would be a kind of one sided affair, and asked how it would do to call on all the brethren to stay and ~~he~~ ^{let} both of us talk and then let the brethren divide and organize to suit themselves. He at first said that might be a good thing, but in a few minutes changed his mind and said it would not be wise — there the matter dropped; except that after I returned home he held two political meetings[,] one in Oakley another in Malad Basin, but not with very good success, I was [later] informed by Kentucky Smith.

On my return home the political excitement was running high. The Democrats in the state of Wyoming at the National Democratic convention had rendered our Utah Deligation considerable service in securing full recognition in the convention and were now calling on the chairman of the Utah Central Committee for help among our people in that state. I was solicited to go and gave the promise that I would do so.

Meantime I continued to hear rumors that the Presidency were not approving my course and that they considered that I had made a direct assault upon them <in an art[icle] called False Lights — see scrap b[oo]k.> I therefore called at their office and requested an interview with Bro. Geo. Q. Cannon. I asked him if he could tell me why it was that I as a Democrat could not have the same liberty to express my political convictions as other brethren ~~had~~ who were Republicans had to express theirs. He replied that ~~he~~ I had, but that they had a desire that the Rep[ublican] Party should make a showing in the territory, thinking that it would be a calamity to have our people go overwhelmingly Democratic. He requested that the rest of the interview be held in the presence of Pres. Woodruff and Joseph F. Smith, to which I readily assented. This interview lasted several hours in which the article on False Lights was read and discussed, the brethren accepting my explanation in relation there to — that it was not <designed as> an assault upon them. The policy of the brethren in relation to politics was then explained to me, it was this: They believed the division movement — that is the division of the people on national party lines — was inspired of God. They desired to see the people as nearly <equally> divided be-

tween the two great parties as possible — as nearly equal as would be consistent with the political conviction of the people. They did not desire Democrats to become Republicans in order to accomplish this, as they regarded “Whipsawing” in politics very dangerous etc. As the Republican Party was by all odds the weakest, they had urged brethren who were Republicans to be active in working up their party interest etc. and had given their influence to the weaker side. Since they did not want Democrats to turn Republicans, but be true to their convictions I could not see that the part I had taken at all conflicted with their policy, or that it would do so in the future. I informed them of my appointment at Almy, [Wyoming,] near Evanston³⁹ the next eve[ning] to speak upon the political issues between the parties; and spoke of the pressure there was for myself & Elder Moses Thatcher to go in to Star Valley.⁴⁰ Pres. C[annon] remarked that they had matters arranged ~~which he~~ in Wyoming that he hoped neither Charley Richards⁴¹ — <C. Richards was chairman Ter[ritorial] Dem[ocratic] Comm[ittee] — > nor myself would disturb. Bro. Joseph F. asked me if I could not work in such manner as <not> to disturb their plans & policy. I told him I thought I could, & if not then I would abandon politics as I desired to be in harmony with my brethren. Pres. Woodruff was present part of the time in this interview & took part therein[,] but being unwell he could not remain in the room all the time and some time before the interview Geo. Gibbs⁴² — Pres[idency] Clerk read to me a number of extracts fr[om] minutes of meetings of the Twelve. In in which policy of brethren in respect to politics was discussed. I

³⁹ Almy is approximately five miles north of Evanston, Wyoming, which is some eighty miles northeast of Salt Lake City.

⁴⁰ Star Valley in western Wyoming was a refuge for polygamists. Elizabeth Critchlow writes in her autobiography that “in the fall of 1889, we left for Star Valley ... [where] for the first time ... I lived with my husband without fear he would be arrested. ... Wyoming was a free territory and the laws enacted for Utah relating to plural marriages did not apply. Star Valley had been settled chiefly by Mormons who had brought their plural families from Utah to avoid prosecution” (Joyce Kinkead, ed., *A Schoolmarm All My Life: Personal Narratives from Frontier Utah* [Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996], 110).

⁴¹ Charles Comstock Richards (1859-1953) was active in territorial legal and political matters and was appointed Secretary of Utah Territory in 1893, the first Mormon to receive a federal executive position since 1858.

⁴² George F. Gibbs (1846-1924) was a long-time secretary in the First Presidency's office.

parted with the brethren with the understanding that I was at liberty to take part in politics, believing that, I could do so without interfering with their policy. I filled my ap[pointmen]t, in Almy, Wyoming, next day and had a fine meeting & there was much enthusiasm & a general good time. A few days afterwards Col. [Henry] Lett⁴³ requested me to call upon him wh[ich] I did so & was informed that it was the desire of the leaders of the party that I should ~~deliver a~~ make a speech at the approaching convention to [be] held at Provo; and that arrangements had been made to have me elected as a delegate at large from my county. I gave my assent to this and arranged my affairs accordingly.

What was my surprise, however, when on the day before the Provo convention I received word from Pres. Woodruff thro[ugh] Elder Seymour B. Young that it was not desirable ~~for~~ that any members of our council to take part in political matters unless counseled to do so by our file leaders. As I had, as I supposed, a perfect understanding with the brethren in relation to the course I was pursuing, I was somewhat surprised at the receipt of this message. I hastened to the Pres[ident's] office and sought an interview, but the Pres. was engaged. Twice again during the day I sought an interview but each time found him engaged in a meeting with the Twelve. I left word for him that I had rec[eive]d his message, had tried to meet him to talk over the matter but had found it impossible to meet him. Matters had gone so far in this ~~matter~~ affair of the Provo Convention that I could not with honor to myself or with safety to the position of the ch[urch] authorities now withdraw, so pocketed his message went to Provo, and made a speech as pre-arranged (see speech in my scrap b[ook]). The day following the convention — <towards eve[ning] — at the Bullion Beck [mining company] office [in the] Const[itution] Building> I met Elder [Moses] Thatcher⁴⁴ and told him of the message I had received & the course I had followed; and that now I proposed going to the Pre[sident's] Office [to] explain my course, and submit myself to

⁴³ Henry C. Lett (1834-94) came to Utah in 1888. He was a businessman and realtor and a member of the Utah Commission, 1893-94.

⁴⁴ Thatcher and other church leaders were officers in the Bullion-Beck mining company. The newly constructed Constitution Building, on the west side of Main Street between South Temple and First South, housed the offices of the First Seven Presidents of Seventy.

them completely. If they wished it I would cancel all my ap[poin]tments to speak and take whatever course they should indicate. He was somewhat doubtful of the propriety of such a course and we had a long talk together over the situation. He was of the opinion that a reformation in the political methods of the Church must come, I too thought so but expressed myself to be firmly of the opinion that when it did come it would come from <& thro[ugh]> the head of the Church, and related a dream I once had which confirmed me in the belief of that doctrine. After a long consultation he said that perhaps I was right in the course I had marked out for myself; that I had not been under the harrow so long as he;⁴⁵ that owing to that I could see clearer than he perhaps and he consented at last to accompany me to the Pres[ident's] Office and do himself as I had concluded to do — submit himself to the [Church] Authorities. We went at once to the Pres[ident's] Office. Returning we met sister Susa Young Gates and [had] a pleasant chat near the new office with her.

Next morning at time ap[poin]ted Elder Thatcher & self met at Pres[ident's] Office, and requested an interview — Granted. There were present Pres. Woodruff, Geo. Q. Cannon, Jos. F. Smith Bro Elder [Francis M.] Lyman, and before we were thro[ugh] John H[enry] Smith, Lorenzo Snow and I think F[ranklin] D. Richards, Geo. Gibbs. At Elder Thatcher's request I opened the subject, referring of course to my own case, my previous interview with them, the understanding I had ~~of that~~ of that same interview — Pres. Woodruff's subsequent <message thro[ugh] S[eymour] B. Young,> my surprise at receiving it. At this point of my remarks Pres. Woodruff broke in to say that ~~that~~ the message was sent owing to Elder S. B. Young's representations to him of my preparations for extreme activity etc. in politics regardless of their (the Presidency's) policy etc. I referred to my action in going to Provo convention, my speech, my agreement to make 9 speeches for Democrats etc. Then I expressed my willingness to subject myself to their counsel; said I would cancel all my engagements to speak if they desired it, and would stand between them and any imputation of their interference that might be made and subjected myself completely to them. Bro. Moses Thatcher did the same. ~~It was con~~ In the course of my

⁴⁵ The British phrase "like a toad under the harrow" refers to being trapped under a farmer's rake.

remarks I ~~then~~ referred to the part I had taken in the Smith-Thatcher controversy and turning to Jos. F.[.] I told him that I had written Bits of History (see Scrap Book) because I considered his and John H[enry Smith']s assault on Moses was uncalled for & unjust, but he made no reply.

It was concluded that it was not thought best for either of us to cancel our engagements to speak; but go on with our ap[pointmen]ts. Tho[ugh] Bro. Lorenzo Snow did say — when Bro. Thatcher suggested that perhaps it would be well for the brethren to say how much <political work> we should do — that we could talk a great deal & not say much. That remark however was made to Bro. Thatcher & I did not look upon it as instruction to me but only as a pleasantry. The Brethren did however express a desire that we should not go into Wyoming or Idaho. From the tenor of Pres. Cannon's remarks, in which he related at great length an interview he had with a prominent Democrat (it was Dr. Miller of Omaha[.] tho[ugh] Pres. C[annon] did not mention his name), ...⁴⁶

⁴⁶ This journal ends abruptly at this point and skips pages 74-100 before the entries for 1893 begin. Most likely, Roberts intended finishing the chronicle for 1891-92 but never got back to it. "Dr. Miller" refers to George Lorin Miller (1830-1920), a physician, Nebraska state senator, and founder of the Omaha *Daily Herald*. In 1899 Miller was president of the Trans-Mississippi Exposition in Omaha.

IX.
*Impressions of Mexico
and the Border States*

1893

[January 15, 1893] Had an appointment today — in the evening — at Millcreek to set in order one of the quorums and accordingly went to the City this morning. Spent the day with Margaret, preached in the Tabernacle in the afternoon — subject the blessings of the Gospel.¹ Late dinner with Eardley's at M[argaret]'s. In the eve[ning] took carriage for Millcreek in company with Elders Seymour B. Young & Geo[rge] Reynolds.² In the morning I had met Apostle [Francis] Lyman who informed me that I had been appointed by the First Presidency to go with himself & Ant[h]on H. Lund — one of the Twelve — to the San Luis Stake of Z[ion] in Col[orado] to settle difficulties existing there. It was the opinion of Elders Young and Reynolds that I was had better go on into Mexico & Arizona when down in Col[orado] to set in order the quorums of the seventies there & attend the quarterly conferences etc. This matter had been talked of before by the brethren; and indeed such a visit. It

¹ Roberts illustrated his talk with references to his experiences in England where "misery and wickedness" were present in the large cities, and remarked that "the sins of Babylon ... were making sad havoc in the midst of Israel." See the *Deseret Evening News*, 16 January 1893.

² George Reynolds (1824-1909) was sustained as one of the First Seven Presidents of Seventy on 5 April 1890.

was decided to submit the matter to the First Presid[ency]. We had a full meeting at Millcreek. Ordained 11 Seventies and gave a variety of instructions. Returned to City.

[January 16, 1893] Called on Pres. Woodruff[. H]e favored my going into Arizona & Mexico. Spent day in literary work[,] home in afternoon.

[January 17, 1893] Literary work.

[January 18, 1893] Literary work and began preparations for Col[orado] trip.

[January 19, 1893] Council meeting[,] Arizona & Mexico mission decided upon. Some feeling manifest between Pres[idents] [Seymour] Young & [John] Morgan about California Mission matters, settled at last. I was ap[point]ed to attend Oneida Stake Conference.³ Home in eve[ning].

[January 20, 1893] Went to City[,] literary work occupied time. Spent eve[ning] with Eardley's.

[January 21, 1893] Literary work in the morning. Afternoon took train for Franklin, Idaho. Moses Thatcher on train. Conversed with him on political situation. He informed me that he had learned that both himself and me were somewhat under ban for part we had taken in political affairs. Had learned that the [First] Presidency — all three — approved letter of Jos[eph] F. Smith & J[ohn] H. Smith against his Ogden speech[,] to which he had replied and [about which] I had written an editorial in [the] Salt Lake Herald. I related to him [a] private conversation with Pres. Woodruff etc. with wh[ich] he seemed pleased. Arrived at Franklin 8-30 p.m. [M]et by Pres[ident] of Stake Geo[rge] C. Parkinson⁴ — spent the eve[ning] with him & his father [Samuel Parkinson]. He read me a letter from Senator [Fred] Dubois⁵ in which it appears that this man

³ Oneida Stake included parts of Franklin and Bannock Counties in southeastern Idaho.

⁴ George Chandler Parkinson was president of the Oneida stake from 1887 to 1910. He also served as general director of the Northwestern States Mission, 1897-98. Roberts and Parkinson had been fellow missionaries in Tennessee.

⁵ Fred Thomas Dubois (1851-1930) served as a Republican territorial delegate

once so bitter against the Saints now holds out the olive branch of peace to them & proposes to assist them. Strange indeed!

[January 22, 1893] Met my friend M[atthias] F. Cowley this morning. Attended conference where I met Apostle M[arriner] W. Merrill⁶ & my old missionary friend Hazen Merrill son of ~~of~~ the above apostle. In the afternoon occupied the time in a discourse on the importance of conferences & the business to be done therein — the voice of God & voice of people. In the eve[ning] held meeting under auspices of seventies quo[rum] — good liberty.

[January 23, 1893] Bro. Parkinson by ~~getting~~ setting <clock> alarm wrong got me to depot at 5 A.M. instead of 6. [H]ad to stand in cold for an hour. Left train at Centerville[,] spent day at home visiting my mother with some of the children and making ready for Col[orado] & Mexico mission. Evening with H[enry] Rampton & wife.

[January 24, 1893] Spent day in attending to a variety of business — finishing revision of “The Gospel [and] Man’s relationship to Diet” etc. which copy I placed in the hands of printer at [the] Juvenile [Instructor Office].⁷ Among other things I paid \$205 to New York life Insurance Co. on policy I hold. Spent the eve[ning] at Eardley’s in company with M[argaret].

[January 25, 1893] Met Elders Lyman & Lund[,] <2 of the 12>[,] at D. & R. G. R[ailwa]y Station <8 A.M.>. Took train for Col[orado]. Most beautiful day. Pleasant companions, good b[oo]ks and the sensation of traveling very pleasant. Bro. Lyman is a man I have traveled among the Stakes of Zion with considerably, and I love his companionship and am glad that I have his company. (For description of him see [November 21, 1890]). This is the first time I have ever been associated with Bro. Lund. I esteem him as [a] righteous man, one of God’s noble men. He is about 5 feet 7 or 8 inches in

(1887-90) and U. S. Senator (1891-97 and 1901-07) from Idaho. Shortly after his second election, he switched to the Democratic party.

⁶ Marriner Wood Merrill (1835-1906) was ordained an apostle on 7 October 1889.

⁷ B. H. Roberts, *The Gospel: An Exposition of Its First Principles* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1893).

heights, but of heavy build weighing perhaps 175 or 180 lbs. He has <dark> gray eyes short bristling <gray> hair now turning gray; A fine open countenance expressive of truth, sincerity, and purity of life. He speaks in low tones, is very retiring in his disposition, extremely modest. He possesses wide information [and] is remarkably intelligent. While this is my first opportunity of traveling with him I have met with him a number of times, have even acted on committees with him in connection with [the] Defence Fund or rather Free Will Offering Fund business with him, have marked his ability – and I admire [him] as I know I shall love him. The day <& eve[ning]> was spent in pleasant conversation with these brethren & a Bro. [William] Silver⁸ of the firm of Silver Bros. <Co.>⁹ who cast the <bronze> oxen for the fount in the <Salt Lake> Temple recently.

[January 26, 1893] At 2.30 A.M. arrived at Salida[, Colorado,] where we had to wait till 4.30 for trains to Manassa[, Col[orado]. During the previous day Bro. Lyman submitted a list of questions in writing to me asked by one Patrick Lannan, esq.¹⁰ of Salt Lake City, proprietor of [the] S[alt] L[ake] Tribune. He was <is an> old time enemy of the Saints and has fought them for y[ea]rs. He now sees statehood for Utah in sight and asks a number of questions relative to what will be the policy of the Saints <as to> ~~relative to~~ their course in the event of power coming to their hands. Bro. Lyman desired me to <make> rough draft <of> answers to same that ... those of us [here] might talk to & fix up and return to S.L.C. Bro. Lyman had been ap[poin]ted to ans[wer] these questions. I began draft ~~on~~ at his request while waiting for our train at St. Clair Hotel. Arrived at Manassa Crossing at 9 A.M. Met my wife Celia & the children:

⁸ William John Silver was born in 1832 in London, England. He married Mary Askie (1829-62) in 1852 in London. In Salt Lake City he married Hannah W. Sims (1825-?) in 1862, Elizabeth Price (1832-69) in 1863, Althea Caroline Jones (1851-1942) in 1867, Ann Brooks (1832-?) in 1880, and Mary Louis Pile (1835-1912) at an unknown date. He died in Salt Lake City in 1918.

⁹ The Silver family was prominent in the local iron and steel business as early as the 1860s. Silver Bros. Co. was founded in 1886 with offices at 149 West North Temple, was renamed Silver Bros. Iron Works in 1898, and by 1907 had moved to 700 South. It was taken over by Salt Lake Iron & Steel Co. in November 1915. See the *Deseret Evening News*, 4 November 1915.

¹⁰ Lannan (1839-1925) served as publisher of the *Salt Lake Tribune* from 1883 to 1900 when he sold the paper to Thomas Kearns and David Keith.

both little Lena & my son Harold look well. Sister R[oberts] not so well. Sister [Josephine] Smith¹¹ (wife of Apostle J[ohn] H[enry] Smith), John Morgan, Pres. Albert Smith¹² & others met me. Drove to my house — a little cottage — where for an hour or so I enjoyed company of wife & little ones. Renewed work on answers to Lannan's questions; leaving Elder Lyman & Lund to arrange for investigation.¹³ At 12 noon, brethren sent for me to join them at Pres. Smith's (ex-pres. S. S. Smith). Met Silas Smith, his son Albert (Pres. of Stake) and his counsellor Levi P. Helm. Talked over difficulties of the Stake. Adjourned at 4 P.M. Met again at 5; more present — B[isho]p [John] Dalton, Martin Christensen and others. Pres. Smith accused Bp. Dalton with repudiating notes that he had signed, some alone[,] some with (Smith) jointly — aggregating \$2100. Bp. Dalton claimed that he had signed the notes for Smith's accommodation [and] had received no benefits from the <store> stock wh[ere] the notes had [been] purchased etc. Pres. Silas Smith claimed that such were the bitterness against him that his life had been threatened, by lynching etc. Said Bp. Dalton & Martin Christensen had tacitly encouraged such things by not rebuking them. Those brethren denied the charge and accused Smith with fraud. Adjourned at a late hour to meet tomorrow eve[ning] with high council & others. Returned home & wrote letters to family & others.

[January 27, 1893] Had been suffering the last few days very severely from my old head trouble — pains in the head. Amid much pain completed draft of ans[wers] to Lannan's questions. Met with brethren at Smiths (S[ilas]) (where they have a room) and submitted draft which they accepted without changing a word & mailed to Salt Lake. Discussed situation in San Luis Stake. At four in com-

¹¹ Josephine Groesbeck Smith was born in 1857 in Salt Lake City. In 1877 she married John Henry Smith (1848-1911), who was an apostle from 1880 to 1911. Josephine's sister, Helen, was married to John H. Morgan. Josephine died in 1948 in Salt Lake City.

¹² Albert Ricks Smith was born in Paragonah, Utah, in 1862 to Silas S. and Sally Ann Ricks Smith. He married Irene Ursulia Haskell (1862-1946) in 1886 and served as San Luis stake president from 1892 until his death in 1905.

¹³ Roberts refers to the difficulties between (1) former stake president Silas S. Smith and Bishop John Dalton over management of the co-op store, (2) Silas Smith and John Morgan over insults directed at Morgan's family, (3) Albert Smith and those who felt the stake president had manipulated local politics, (4) Dalton and his father over finances, and (5) related matters.

pany with Celia the brethren — John Morgan & wife & Celia took dinner with Martin Christensen. At 7 P.M. met with high council[,] Pres of Stake [Albert Smith, John] Morgan[, and] Silas Smith. We heard complaints and accusations against each other & much bitterness manifest among the brethren. Chiefly against Silas Smith. Morgan accused him of slanders against his family etc. Adjourned late to meet next n[igh]t with all the priesthood; but were to hold [a] meeting [the] next day with same brethren.

[January 28, 1893] Continued to suffer extreme pain. ~~Continued to suffer pain~~ Met with breth[ren] and heard complaints. Ditto at 7. Political difficulties cropped out. It seems that the Pres. of Stake & others had held private caucuses [and] prepared <a> slate for the primary, but in the latter the majority repudiated the work. Whereupon the President's party undertook to ride over the majority when in the minority. The majority withdrew from the primary, called another, ~~convention~~ elected deligates who were accepted in the county convention, so that the majority had their way but there was much bitterness left owing to the attempt to over-ride the majority; and as L[evi] P. Helms[,] Pre[sident]'s Counsellor[,] was the Chairman on that occasion the anger was chiefly against him. Many charges of a minor character. Adjourned late.

[January 29, 1893] Still I suffer terribly. Meeting in Stake house at 10 A.M. Elders Lyman & Lund spoke. Meeting again at 2. Large attendance. I occupied most of the time <— law of Ch[rist] in difficulties.> Bro. Lyman the rest. Supper with Celia & the brethren at Sister Josephine Smith's. Meeting again at 7. Morgan & Lyman & Lund occupied the time. Between forenoon & afternoon meeting assisted in setting apart Elders — [Erastus] Beck¹⁴ and [James] Grantham¹⁵ — for missions to [the] Southern States. At Bro. Lyman's request I

¹⁴ Thirty-one-year-old Erastus Beck was born in 1861 in Moroni, Utah. He married Mary Mason Valentine (1868-1951) in 1886 in Richfield, Colorado; was set apart for his mission to the southern states by Apostle Francis M. Lyman; and died in 1950 in Sanford, Colorado.

¹⁵ Thirty-nine-year-old James Edward Grantham was born in 1854 in Green, Alabama. He married Celia Ann Anderson (1856-1934) in 1874 in Meridian, Mississippi. In about 1899 he married Eleanor Marietta Spears (1880-1969) and they divorced in 1910. Grantham was one of the Southern converts who settled in Manassa, Colorado, where he was set apart for his mission to the southern states by Apostle Anthon H. Lund. Grantham died in 1925 in Kelsey, Texas.

gave the brethren their instructions. In the afternoon also Elder Jos[eph] Thomas¹⁶ was ordained second counselor to Bp. Dalton[,] Martin Christensen who had been 2nd being ordained first c[ounselor]. Elder [Thomas] Crowther¹⁷ was ordained 2nd C[ounselor] to Pres. Albert Smith. Wrote [a] number of letters [to] [illegible] Eardley, M[argaret].

[January 30, 1893] Pain worse than ever. Letters from home, [John] Whittaker, [William] Spence. Met with brethren and assisted in listing and deciding on complaints, that is how they should be settled. I was determined that Morgan & Smith should be required to meet & settle their own affairs. At Bro. Lyman's request I brought them together at my house[,] introduced the matter[,] prayed with them and called upon them to talk over differences calmly, neither to be too exacting and come just as near together as possible; and if there was any item about which they could not fully become reconciled ~~upon~~ they might call in the brethren & refer it. So I left them and returned to the brethren. Continued our listing labors until late in the afternoon. Silas Smith came in about 4 P.M. with note relative to what he & Morgan had done. [N]ot clear nor was it satisfactory. Meeting in the eve[ning]. Disposed of [a] number [of] cases by telling parties what to do. Political difficulties settled by deciding that ~~it was~~ those who tried to override the majority were in the wrong. Bro. Levi P. Helm asked the pardon of the brethren as he was the chairman of the meeting when the wrong was done. After the meeting the brethren interested in Kilgore note (Mill Business) had a meeting with us at which they decided to raise the money — \$1200 — and settle that matter. Elders Lyman & Lund took dinner with me at home.

[January 31, 1893] The case of <Bp.> Dalton vs Silas S. Smith came up before the High Council, Elders Lyman, Lund, & myself presiding. This case had been heard before the council previously, but it

¹⁶ Joseph Francis Thomas was born in 1858 in Burkes Garden, Virginia. He married Mary Jane Jack (1863-1939) in 1881 in Manassa, Colorado, and Ethel Gertrude Mickelsen (1884-1961) in 1903 in Salt Lake City. Thomas was second counselor in the San Luis stake from 1890 to 1893. He died in 1934 in Manassa.

¹⁷ Thomas Alma Crowther was born in 1858 in Cedar City, Utah. He married Maren Petersen (1860-1946) in 1880 in Salt Lake City. He was a counselor in the San Luis stake presidency from 1893 to 1908 and died in 1933 in Sanford, Colorado.

had been a miss trial and now the case was heard de novo. Bro. Smith's claims aggregated \$2700. The matter was heard patiently, witness[es] were examined carefully. The case ran through the afternoon and into the n[igh]t but was not closed. I should have said before, that previous to taking up the Dalton Smith case, the matter as to whether the Co-op Store <difficulties> should be taken fr[om] the courts & tried before this Council presided over by Elders Lyman, Lund and myself. Bro. Silas Smith seemed determined that it should remain in the courts. The several defendants were willing that it should come before the Council though confident they could win & put bro Silas Smith in prison. There was much argument pro & con in the case. I favored withdrawing the case from court & hearing it before the Council as it was the root of nearly all the difficulties we had come to settle; & we must either settle it or make a failuretø of our mission. It was decided finally that Bro. Silas <Smith> should withdraw the case from court & submit it to the ~~brethren~~ Council. Dinner with Pres. Albert Smith.

[February 1, 1893] Case of Dalton vs Smith resumed by at ten A.M. Testimony in and four councilors spoke by <1 P.M.> 12~~n~~ or a little after. Council took a recess during which time we who presided formulated the decision in favor of Silas Smith, giving him a judgment for about \$2400 against John C. Dalton. Council met at 3 P.M., the decision was read & Bro. Lyman, myself & Bro. Lund spoke in its defense. He also (Bro. L[und]) gave his reasons for the decision. The council were unanimous in sustaining our decision. Several other matters of minor importance were determined. Eve[ning] at home. Read papers & wrote letters. M[argaret] in trouble, wrote letters wh[ich] I hope will comfort her. Between 6 & 8-30 P.M. Impression that something was going wrong — what can it be? I shall know ere long.

[February 2, 1893] Fast Day. Went with Elders Lyman, Lund & Bp. Dalton to Sanford. Met with the Saints of that ward. There was the funeral of a Bro. Whitney's little girl aged eleven. This was the third child they had lost within a y[ea]r. The occasion <was very> sorrowful. Elders Lyman[,] Lund & self occupied time. Elder Lyman's views on the necessity & blessedness of death were fine. ~~Returned~~ Dinner with Bp. Berthlesen. He paid me ten dollars in store orders on tithing credit, I had with him. Returned to Manassa via Richfield

& Manassa La Jara. Spent the eve[ning] with brethren in Council & brought Bro. Silas Smith & Elder John Morgan to terms of settlement — Bro Smith is to make public withdrawal of charges or slanders against Sister M[organ] and Elder M[organ.]

[February 3, 1893] Expected mail today — was sadly disappointed not getting it. Learned that [the] mail car was burned at Salida so that may account for not rec[eiving] any. In council most of day with Elders Lyman & Lund drawing up instructions to have with Pres. of Stake to be carried out after we leave. Visited Bro. Edward Dalton father to Bp. Dalton. [H]eard his statement in relation to charges br[ought] against his son for neglecting him. Bro. Edward Dalton is nearly blind[,] cannot endure the light and has to stay in dark room, hence cannot come before the council. Gave great praise to his son (Bp. D[alton]) for his general kindness; and he had no complaints to make etc. Still he had called on Pres. [of the] Stake for some attention in some small matters, and this may have given him the impression that his son was neglectful. As this man stood there behind a tent-like arrangement of quilts & blankets in this dark room — poor emaciated, dependent, some of my old thoughts about the unkindness of death in not coming soon enough upon men surged upon me and made me full of sadness. What mysteries there are in this world! How much suffering! Ah well some angel hand will roll the stone away some day & we shall see it all as God sees it — Speed the day kind Providence, speed the day. Eve[ning] attended temperance lecture delivered in Stake house by a Mr. Tate of Ohio — Quaker, working under W.-C. C. W. T. U.,¹⁸ man of only moderate abilities.

[February 4, 1893] Wrote [a] number of letters this A.M. High Council met at ten, to hear case of Silas S. Smith vs Co-op stockholders for sum of about \$4300. Some members of Council interested others absent[,] made it necessary to call upon three or 4 high priests not members of alternates. Had to send for Bro. L[evi] P. Helm. Pending his arrival the matter of Bp. Dalton & Pres. A[lbert] R. Smith came up, Elders Lyman[,] Lund & self made remarks, reporting our visit to Bro. E[dward] Dalton. After our remarks the Pres. & Bp. became reconciled asked forgiveness of the council

¹⁸ The Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

w[hic]h was readily granted. Bp. Dalton called up remarks made by Bro. Irwin Clark of H[igh] C[ouncil]. That person confessed wherein he was wrong[,] asked Bp. D[alton]'s pardon & was forgiven. Elder John Morgan placed in my hands some letters of Elder John Gibbs written to me in Tenn[essee] during that memorable & fatal summer of 1884.¹⁹ I appreciated them. In afternoon Elder Lyman & Lund ate dinner with us. Celia acquitted her self well in receiving the brethren. Pleasant visit with Bro. Lund in the afternoon, while Elder L[yman] went to visit sister Josephine Smith. At 7 P.M. High Council again [met] & resumed of the Smith vs. Co-op.

[February 5, 1893] Beautiful balmy morning. Meeting at Ten A.M. I occupied the forenoon or rather the greater part of it, speaking to the conditions existing in Manassa, settling difficulties etc. Silas S. Smith retracted his slanders against John Morgan & his wife & asked forgiveness. Bro. M[organ] said he was satisfied & Bro. S[mith] was forgiven. Elder Lyman spoke [for a] short time on the evils of listening to slander etc. <Between meetings assisted in ordaining one High priest & setting a part two High councilors.> Meeting at 2 P.M. Elders Morgan[,] Lund[,] & Lyman occupied time. Dinner with the brethren & sister R[oberts] at Bro. Morgan's. High Council convened until 10-30. Post[ed] journal & wrote letters after return[ing] home.

[February 6, 1893] A fine morning. Began the day by writing letters. Called on Josephine Smith. High Council at ten. Resume[d consideration] of the Smith vs Co-op [case]; in council all day and eve[ning] until a late hour. During the day rec[eived] several letters, one fr[om] W. C. Spence [which] had been in the car (mail) that was burned. The whole end of the envelope was burned out, but the address was legible hence it could be sent to me. Tho[ugh] the letter was scorched the ½-fare permit over the A[tlantic] & P[acific] R[ailwa]y²⁰ in Arizona was uninjured. We are making progress in the case before [the] High Council[, the] Smith [Co-op] case[,] but did not finish it tonight as we had hoped.

¹⁹ The reference is to the previously mentioned killing of Elder John Gibbs, whose letters to Roberts, 1883-1884, can be found in the B. H. Roberts Papers, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, reel 1.

²⁰ John W. Young was a contractor on this railroad. See note 29.

[February 7, 1893] A fine morning clear & still. High Council [met] at ten A.M., continuation of Smith vs Co-op stock holders. By two o'clock the evidence was all in, the 4 high councilors had spoken as also the plaintiff and defendants[,] and the case submitted to Elder Lyman, Lund & self as the Presidency of the Council. It was announced [that] the decision for the presidency would be prepared by ten A.M. next day. Council adjourned until 6 P.M. to consider other matters. Dinner at Sister S[ilas] Smith's. Calling upon sister R[oberts] to accompany me, found her too unwell to go. Talked over our forthcoming decision with Elders Lyman & Lund until time to go to the Council meeting. Council from 6 to 9-30. Bishop's Clerk for this stake was chosen — Marcus O. Funk.²¹ (Bro. Lyman asked me to see to it <that> Bro. Funk was set apart at which I would be present & ~~nei~~ but neither Elders Lyman <or> Lund would). Several minor difficulties existing between bros. Jos[eph] F. Thomas, A[ibert] R. Smith — Funk sen[ior] & others were settled by explanations & mutual confessions. After Council met with my associates and together we formulated our ~~discussions~~ decision. Occupied in this until nearly 12 mid-n[igh]t.

[February 8, 1893] Mild morning, some what cloudy. This is the fourteenth day of our investigation of the difficulties existing in the San Luis Stake of Zion. <High> Council convened at 10 A.M. Elder Lund read decision. I spoke first at request of Bro. Lyman in its defense — good liberty. Elders Lund & Lyman followed. Decision unanimously sustained by members of H[igh] C[ouncil]. Readily accepted by defendants since it was in their favor, but it was more difficult to bring Bro. S[ilas] S. Smith to accept it, but he finally did. In substance the decision declared that the plaintiff had failed to sustain his claim of \$5,500.00 with interest against the defendants — the stock holders ~~against~~ of Co-op Ins[titution] & was called upon to withdraw all claims, surrender all notes made by himself as Supt. of Co-op Store against the stockholders thereof, and withdraw the suits fr[om] courts: Both parties to bear <own> expenses of bringing suits at law. Defendants called upon to withdraw charges of collusion ~~with~~ between S[ilas] S. Smith & wife, with intent to defraud;

²¹ Marcus Orlando Funk was born in 1865 in Richmond, Utah. He married Forthilda Iverson (1867-1958) in 1889 in St. George, Utah, and died in 1945 in Salt Lake City.

the store to be placed in hands of [a] committee to settle its affairs out of its assets: and Defendants to withdraw all counter claims against Plaintiff. Written instructions were read before the council to the Pres. of the Stake & left with him. They treated in the main of looking after the carrying out of decisions arrived at by our council. Dinner with the brethren at Josephine Smith's. At 4 p. m. started for La Jara where the brethren — Elders Lyman & Lund took [the] train for Mancos. I was to have gone there with them but we had been so long delayed with Manassa affairs that I could not go & return in time for San Luis Conference & start for Mexico. From La Jara wired Elder [George] Teasdale that I would start for Mexico Monday A.M. Returned home, spent eve[ning with] Celia & children — about the first eve[ning] home since my arrival.

[February 9, 1893] Warm, but wind blowing. Spent the day writing a few letters, reading, etc. Must be relaxation after our excessive labors here that makes me feel wretched. <Paid Haynie & DePriest> \$30 on a/c.

[February 10, 1893] Snowed during the n[igh]t — light fall. Feel much better this morning. Begin bringing my journal up from 1890 to Jan 1893. Walked down to Sister Madsen's to see her a few minutes as it would be about my only chance to call. Met Bro. Beers & talked with him. He was afraid some difficulties would break out in respect to mill matters. Paid <Handed> Louis Kotch \$10 to settle taxes in Antinito for me am[oun]ting to \$7.80. Paid Bro. DePriest \$4.50 for cleaning out well & cutting wood; and \$2.37 to Dep[uty] Sheriff Harrison payment in full on my Coop a/c. Attended a funeral of an eleven y[ea]r old boy adopted by Bro. & Sister McCarrol, occupied [a] portion of the time. Spent the eve[ning] at Sister Madsen's in company with a number of the brethren & sisters. Pleasant time.

[February 11, 1893] Spent morning reading. Middle forenoon Silas Smith called on me to go to his son Albert's (Pres. of stake) and go thro[ugh] his tithing a/c while he was tithing ag[en]t. Tho[ugh]t I might assist him in making rep[or]t at Bp. Preston's office.²² I went

²² As Presiding Bishop from 1883 through 1907, William Bowker Preston (1830-1907) was responsible for church finances during the period of the federal govern-

thro[ugh] a/c accordingly and Albert is to make out the memorandum for me. In the afternoon attended the funeral of <old> Father Hutter who died out on the plain alone, also the funeral of a babe. Evening at home.

[February 12, 1893] Beautifully mild day. Stake Conference at ten A.M. Morning services occupied hearing b[isho]ps reports, several brethren spoke, among them two Y.M.M.I.A. missionaries. Afternoon Authorities presented. I occupied time — subject importance of con[ference] & the business to be transacted. Good liberty for which my Father I thank thee and give to thee the Glory. After meeting[,] Presidents of 92 quo[rum] of 70's met at my house and held consultation on Theological classes etc. In the eve[n]ing held a meeting under auspices of this 70's quo. at which I occupied time — subject labors & duties of the gospel — the blessings thereof — should desire to take it to others. Wrote letters after return home one to Elder Lyman.

[February 13, 1893] Snowed during the n[igh]t. Began preparations for departure. Bro W[illia]m Christensen called with a carriage to take me to the Depot. Bid Celia & children goodbye. Had to wait some time for train — very cold. Bro. Jos[eph] Thomas, B[ishop's] other councilor, was at depot, we rode together as far as Antinito. He explained that he had heart disease and desired that I would remember him in my secret prayers. Purchased ticket from Antinito to Santa Fe[,] N[ew] M[exico,]²³ arriving at the latter place about 7 p.m.[,] The road over wh[ich] we passed was a very dreary one. In Col[orado] it was chiefly lava bed plains, and in N[ew] M[exico] rough, broken hills & m[ountain]s covered with scrub pinion-pines & cedars. According to arrangements with Bro. Spence (R[ailwa]y Ag[en]t for Church) I was to have transportation at half rates furnished me fr[om] here to Deming[, New Mexico,]²⁴ and return to

ment's seizure of church property. The government held church assets until 1904, so it is uncertain what role Preston played in Colorado at this time. See diary entries for June 17-18, 1893; also D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 679-80; Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 252-59.

²³ Santa Fe is about 100 miles directly south of Antonito.

²⁴ Deming is in the extreme southwestern corner of New Mexico about thirty-

Albuquerque.²⁵ Called at the Santa Fe Office but it was closed, hence I had to miss mid-n[igh]t train and lay over 24 h[ou]rs to get special rates if possible. Put up at Palace hotel.

[February 14, 1893] Took early morning stroll through the streets and barracks — for it is a military post and the army quarters are right in town. Santa Fe is 310 y[ea]rs old (and it looks it), being settled in 1518 and is the second oldest city in America founded by Europeans, St. Augustine in Florida being the first. Population ~~about~~ more than ½ Mexican. <Same> n[umber] of houses perhaps ditto. The Mexican <houses> are flat roofed, covered with dirt, plastered with dirt on the in<out>side, and <have> a very hovel-like appearance. It is said, <however,> they are comfortable <inside> being warm in the winter & cool in the summer. They are usually built by joining a number of houses together with partition doors running through. Public buildings the state house & cathedral. State house unpretentious 4 cornered building of stone with diminutive porches over the entrance supported by round stone pillars. The Cathedral — back portion of it — is supposed to be about 300 yrs old. It has some ancient Spanish paintings and Indian relics in its museum. There is also an historical society in town which has a collection of similar relics.²⁶ Spent the day in the cathedral & strolling about the streets. Eve[n]ing spent writing letters, listening to conversation etc. At 12-30 took train for Lamy jct.²⁷

[February 15, 1893] Had to stay at Lamy Jct. until 4 A.M. Took Santa A[tchison] T[opeka] and S[anta] Fe [railroad] for Deming, N[ew] M[exico], where arrived at 3 P.M. R[ailwa]y ran down Rio

five miles from the Mexican border and some 230 miles southwest of Santa Fe, eighty miles northwest of El Paso, Texas.

²⁵ Albuquerque is about sixty miles southwest of Santa Fe.

²⁶ The territorial capitol was destroyed by fire a year before Roberts arrived. Government offices were temporarily housed in La Casa Sena on East Palace Avenue and elsewhere until 1900 when a new capitol was completed. The St. Francis Cathedral was, as Roberts mentions, built around an older church erected in 1610. In 1885 the Historical Society of New Mexico opened a museum inside the Palace of the Governors on the central plaza. The governor's palace was built in 1610 and is a model of Pueblo architecture, although Roberts clearly lacked an eye for the beauty of the style.

²⁷ An irony of the Santa Fe Railroad, which was built to connect Midwestern markets with Los Angeles, was that it bypassed Santa Fe. A connecting line was built from Santa Fe to Lamy about twenty miles to the southeast.

Grande good share of the way. Country dreary & desolate. Call[ed] on J. Fewson Smith²⁸ at Deming[, an] engineer in employ of J[ohn] W. Young²⁹ — treated me kindly. Met also Bro. W[illiam] Galbraith³⁰ formerly of Davis Co[unty] & spent the eve[ning] with these brethren.

[February 16, 1893] Made arrangements thro[ugh] a Bro. Webb with a Bro. Farnsworth³¹ to take me to [Colonia] Diaz[, Mexico].³² There had been a very severe snow storm two days before [and] the road was heavy & at places filled with snow drifts which made travel very heavy. Arrived at the customs house just at dark.³³ Fortunately a Bro. Milton S. Ray[,]³⁴ one of our brethren[,] is ~~an officer in~~ <located at> the customs house <to render people assistance in getting thro[ugh].> He speaks the Spanish fluently and has been among the Indians a great deal. He is a young man about my own age. We delivered team[,] carriages etc. to the officers for inspection etc.

²⁸ John Fewson Smith was born in 1834 in Preston, England. He married Christiana Vernon (1830-1920) in 1863 in Hull, England. The couple immigrated to Utah the next month and settled in Salt Lake City. Smith served on the Salt Lake City Council from 1888-1890, then went to work with John W. Young building the Rio Grande, Sierra Madre & Pacific Railroad from El Paso to the Mormon colonies in Chihuahua. Smith died in 1909 in Salt Lake City.

²⁹ John Willard Young (1844-1924) was the son of Brigham and Mary Ann Angell Young. He was ordained an apostle in 1855 at the age of eleven, though he was never included as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve. Ultimately, he became a member of the First Presidency and a "counselor" to the Twelve until his release in 1891. From the 1860s to 1890s, Young was a prominent railroad builder, though he suffered major financial losses and died in obscurity in New York City where he was working as an elevator operator.

³⁰ William Wilkie Galbraith was born in 1860 in Ogden, Utah. He married Mary E. Grant (1864-?) in 1887 and was apparently a polygamist because he served a term in the Utah territorial prison in 1886-1887 and paid a \$300 fine for unlawful cohabitation. He died in 1939.

³¹ Apparently Alonzo Lafayette Farnsworth, born in 1841 in South Bend, Indiana. He married Mary Ann Staker (1848-1929) in 1866 and married two women in Salt Lake City: Christiane Dorteia Nielsen Bertelsen (1852-1922) in 1874 and Ida Henrietta Tietjen (1853-1906) in 1875. He died in 1931 in Chihuahua, Mexico.

³² Colonia Díaz was founded in 1884 just north of Ascención, Chihuahua, about seventy-five miles south of Deming, New Mexico.

³³ Since August 1900, a customs house had been situated just south of Columbus, New Mexico, fifteen miles south of Deming, across the border from Palomas, Chihuahua.

³⁴ Milton Sevier Ray was born in 1856 in Juab County, Utah. He married Annie Foster (1860-1901) in 1882, Mary Mollie Jones (1868-?) in 1889, and Maria Candelaria Costello (1880-1937) in 1895. He died in 1912 in Kansas City, Missouri.

Bro. Ray made out our papers which cost us 75 [cents]. I stayed with a Mr. Baily a Methodist: he rec[eived] me kindly & gave me a good bed.

[February 17, 1893]³⁵ It was ten A.M. before we could leave the customs house, chiefly on account of the slowness of the officials at the routine work of getting out our bonds for the passage of our carriage into the interior. Indeed it was only through the courtesy of Senior Gomez, the administrator at this point, that we were able to get the carriage thro[ugh] at all. First part of our road was rocky and covered with rocks, passing over low hills of lava rock formation. The country was very dreary and cheerless. About 12 miles out we were stopped by the Mexican guard <(firemen)> who demanded to see our passport for horses & carriage. A little further [we] passed a lone Mexican on foot. He had stripped off his shoes and was carrying them on his back and wading thro[ugh] the snow and mud bare foot. Our speed was slow owing to the muddy condition of the roads. We traveled up the Boc[a] Grande, a small sluggish stream along which the r[ailwa]y grade runs. About sundown we left the head of the stream & started across the wide expanding plain in which Diaz is located, and prepared for our n[igh]t drive. Arrived at the house of Bp. [William] Johnson [Jr.]³⁶ about 2 P.M. Cramped with long sitting in the carriage and shivering with cold. The Bp. built [a] fire for us and furnished us [a] good bed.

[February 18, 1893] Warm and pleasant this morning. Inquired of Bp. Johnson as to prospect of reaching [Colonia] Juarez[, Mexico]³⁷ by Sunday. Prospect discouraging. Best teams in the place absent working on canals or at Deming after freight. Our own team of course was unable to make another drive of 75 miles & <then> re-

³⁵ For the next ten days, Roberts will be in the Mexican state of Chihuahau.

³⁶ William Derby Johnson Jr. was born in 1850 in Council Bluffs, Iowa, to William Derby and Jane Cadwaller Brown Johnson. In Utah, William Jr. married Lucy Anne Salisbury (1850-85) in 1869; Lucy Elizabeth Brown (1859-1932) and Charlesetta Prescott Cram (1861-1917), both in 1877; and Mary Agnes Riggs (1863-1954) in 1884. William Jr. was bishop of Colonia Diaz from 1887 to 1911; he died in 1923 in Tucson, Arizona.

³⁷ As Roberts says, Colonia Juárez (not to be confused with Ciudad Juárez adjacent to El Paso, Texas) was about seventy-five miles south of Colonia Díaz and immediately south of Casas Grandes.

turn to Deming in time for me to fill [my] Snowflake[, Arizona,]³⁸ ap[pointmen]t. Could see that I would not be able to organize the 70's here and fill [the] Arizona ap[pointmen]t. Thought at first [I] would just spend Sunday here & then return to Deming, but if I did so my trouble & expense in getting here would well nigh be lost; so finally concluded to cancell ap[pointmen]t at Snowflake and remain here until after their conference on the 25[th] & 26[th]. Wrote letters making the changes to Pres. Jesse N. Smith³⁹ & Pres. [David K.] Udall.⁴⁰ Dismissed my team — paying \$20 — and settled down to accomplish work here. In the eve[n]ing drove out with Bp. Johnson to Sinshone [Ascención,] a Mexican settlement of several thousand inhabitants. Enroute the Bp. explained their land difficulties to me. Will make memo[randum] of same when I hear other side of it.

[February 19, 1893] Beautiful day. Sunday school in the morning [at Colonia Díaz, worship] meeting in the afternoon & eve[n]ing,] at which I occupied the time. Subject in afternoon — Importance of work of the pioneers[,] nobility of their calling — progress of work of God — New position of C[hurch] in relation to Celestial Marriage. Eve[n]ing topic was] The Gospel.

Dreams

Felt anxious on returning about Margaret. Dreamed in the n[igh]t that I was within a house where I could look out and see her among a number of other sisters engaged in some pursuit of pleasures, the nature of which I could not understand. She was dressed superbly and looked ~~hand~~ beautiful. She did not know I was near or that I was watching her. I was anxious that she should come in the house to me which presently she did, not yet knowing that I was

³⁸ Snowflake is about sixty miles from New Mexico—about 200 miles west of Albuquerque.

³⁹ Jesse Nathaniel Smith, president of the Snowflake stake, 1887-1906, was born in 1834 in Stockholm, New York, to Silas and Mary Aikens Smith. In Utah he married Emma Saraphine West (1836-1910) in 1852, Margaret Fletcher West (1838-64) in 1856, Janet Mauretta Johnson (1848-1933) in 1866, Augusta Maria Outzen (1854-1932) in 1869 (in Copenhagen, Denmark), and Emma Ellen Larson (1863-1943) in 1881. He died in 1906 in Snowflake.

⁴⁰ David King Udall, president of St. Johns stake from 1887 to 1922, was born in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1851. He married Eliza Luella Stewart (1855-1937) in 1875 in Salt Lake City and Ida Frances Hunt (1858-1915) in 1882 in St. George, Utah. He died in 1938 in St. Johns, Arizona.

there. Upon seeing me seated in a chair she was dumbfounded and turned deathly pale. She looked so white and wan, so care worn and sorrowful, so faded and exhausted, ~~that~~ so different to what she had looked on the outside with the sisters that I became much alarmed about her and with an exclaim of mingled pity & alarm I sprang forward to catch her — for she seemed to be falling — and with this I awoke. After this I was restless all night and slept but little and then brokenly and [I] was troubled with dreams of an unpleasant nature. In a fragment of one dream I found myself measuring out a grave and giving instructions how it should be dug. I pray thee O, God, my Father that Thou will protect my loved ones fr[om] sickness and death. I dedicate them unto thee and ask thee care for them. Bless and preserve to me my Margaret.

[February 20, 1893] Wind blowing this morning otherwise fair day. Time spent chiefly at father [William] Johnston [Sr.]'s⁴¹ in reading and writing up journal for '91 and '92. In the eve[n]ing attended Y.M.[M.]I.A. meeting at which I occupied principal part of time.

[February 21, 1893] Fine day. In the morning several brethren called to see me & time was spent in visiting them and reading. At eleven o'clock visited the school taught by a Bro. Mills. It is a c[hurc]h school and very well managed. The educational ideas of the church are carried out even in this distant land. Took dinner with Bro. Ja[me]s Little[,]⁴² the author of *Fr[om] Kirtland to Salt Lake*,⁴³ a life of his Bro. Fer[amorz] Little. He [James Little] has been employed by John W. Young to collect the letters[,] sermons etc of the late Pres. B[rig]ham Young. He showed me his collection of letters etc. They will be very valuable in [the] hands of some historian. Visited among the people in the afternoon, and in the eve attended a meeting of the 70s and Elders. There is no 70's quo[rum] in Mexico and it is part of my mission to organize one. Found 16 70's here fr[om] various

⁴¹ Sixty-eight-year-old William Derby Johnson Sr., born in Pomfret, Chautauqua County, New York, in 1824, would die in Colonia Díaz three years later in 1896.

⁴² James Alma Little was born in 1822 in Aurelius, New York. He married Mary Jane Lytle (1831-1921) in 1849, Hannah Matilda Baldwin (1839-1906) in 1858, and Mary Elizabeth Tullidge (1832-1914) in 1864, all in Salt Lake City. He died in 1908 in Kanab, Utah.

⁴³ James A. Little, *From Kirtland to Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: by the author, 1890).

quo[rum]s in Utah & Arizona. Have neglected to obtain their transfers for the reason that there were no organization here with which they could connect themselves. Resolved to receive them into the New Organization to be effected in this Mission on their B[isho]p's recommend. Bp. Johnson said he could recommend them all, hence notified brethren that they would be rec[eived] into the quo. when organized at the conference to be held at [Colonia] Juarez. Ordained six Elders 70's making total n[umber] at Diaz 22. Bro. Sullivan Richardson⁴⁴ called on me for private interview. He desired to know if 1st presidency regarded the Mexican mission with favor, and if I knew whether or not they looked upon it as a permanent stake of Zion. I could not answer positively because I had not heard 1st Pres. say; but I believed they looked upon the mis[sion] as permanent & with favor, owing to the authorities having promised to visit the people & then failing thro[ugh] some other matters arising wh[ich] prevented them doing so. I find the people are a little restless. Retired late even for me.

[February 22, 1893] This A.M. started for [Colonia] Juarez to attend conference. Bp. Johnson & his wife Lucy and 2 or three children, his bro[ther] Abia & wife [Violet]⁴⁵ and 2 teams was our company. Went heavily armed because of Apache raids being threatened. Passed through the Mexican town of Senshon [Ascención]. A typical Mexican town of this part of the country, Mud <adobe> flat roofed houses, dirty in appearance. A plaza & rude adobe benches for lounges. Camped at night on the bend of Casas Grandes River. Was joined here by another team.

[February 23, 1893] Fine day. Broke camp early & continued journey up the Casas Grandes Valley for the most part. Past the Mexican town of Coralites⁴⁶ kept up by the silver mines adjacent and a smelter. Also passed the deserted town of ~~Blank~~ Blanca. A little

⁴⁴ Sullivan Calvin Richardson was born in 1861 in Manti, Utah. He married Martha Irena Curtis (1863-1950) in 1881, Mary Whiting (1862-) in 1882, and Amy Teresa Leavitt (1868-1961) in 1884. He died in 1940 in Los Angeles.

⁴⁵ Abia Ezekiel Johnson was born in 1864 in Salt Lake City to William Derby and Jane Cadwallar Brown Johnson. He married Violet Jane Bevan (1872-1933) in 1891 in Manti, Utah, and Vivian Lemmon (1883-1975) in 1900 in Colonia Díaz, Mexico. He died in 1932 in Salt Lake City.

⁴⁶ Corralitos is midway between Ascención and Colonia Juárez.

above we crossed the Casas Grandes river. This is a nobel valley tho[ugh] the lower part of it is not very fertile. It takes its name - valley of grand castles - from some old Aztec ruins chiefly of old adobe castles wh[ich] were ruins when the Spaniards first explored it. We passed some of them that were very ancient if appearances count for anything.⁴⁷ We left the Mormon Settlement of Dublan⁴⁸ on our left, ditto the Mexican town of Casas Grandes, and left the Valley for the mountains in which Jauarez is located. We arrived at that place about dusk & were warmly welcomed by Elder [George] Teasdale <one of the 12 &> wife Etta⁴⁹ whom I had not see[n] since parting with him in England in Sept[ember] of 1888. Pleasant Eve[ning].

[February 24, 1893] Conference began this day. Primary in morning[,] Y.M.I.A. afternoon conjoint meeting in eve[ning] with Y.L. M.I.A. I spoke briefly in all 3 meetings.

[February 25, 1893] Stake or Mission conference. In the afternoon meeting devoted to 70's business. ~~In afternoon~~ At close of P.M. meeting [the] 90[th] quo[rum of Seventies] was organized by Pres. Teasdale & myself. Following are the Presidents chosen: Helaman Pratt,⁵⁰ John C. Harper,⁵¹ A. B. Call,⁵² Geo. W. Hardy,⁵³ D. E. Har-

⁴⁷ Roberts refers to the ruins at Paquime, near Casas Grandes in northwestern Chihuahua. Archeological explorations have uncovered several structures and monuments at the site.

⁴⁸ The Mormon settlement of Colonia Dublán is about twenty miles north of Colonia Juárez, immediately north of Casas Grandes.

⁴⁹ Mary Laurette ("Etta") Picton was born in 1863 in Nephi, Utah. It is unclear when she married Teasdale, but she was living with him in Liverpool, England, from 1886 to 1890 when he was president of the European Mission. After returning home, she settled in Colonia Juárez, where she was the stake Primary president and a counselor in the YLMIA. She died in Colonia Juárez in 1895.

⁵⁰ Helaman Pratt was born in 1846 in Mt. Pisgah, Iowa, to Apostle Parley P. and Mary Wood Pratt. He married Emeline Victoria Billingsley (1852-1910) in 1868 and Anna Johanna Dorothy Wilcken (1854-1929) in 1874, both in Salt Lake City. He later married Anna's sister, Bertha Christine Wilcken (1863-1947), in 1898 in Colonia Dublán, Mexico. He served as president of the Mexican Mission in 1877 and 1884-87 and as a counselor in the Juárez stake, 1895-1908. He died in 1909 in Colonia Dublán.

⁵¹ John Claiborne Harper was born in 1846 in Franklin, Virginia. He married Mary Price Davis (1854-1926) at an unknown date and Fanny Condes (1850-?) in 1883; served a term in the Utah territorial prison, April-September 1889; and paid a \$200 fine for unlawful cohabitation. He died in 1909 in Colonia Juárez, Mexico.

⁵² Anson Bowen Call was born in 1863 in Bountiful, Utah, to Anson and Ann

ris,⁵⁴ W. W. Galbraith, [and] Sullivan S. Richardson. The first 4 were present & were ordained, and Elder Teasdale is to see the rest & ordain them. Bro W. H. Ivins⁵⁵ of Juarez was chosen Sec[retary]. Membership of [the] quo[rum] was 64, 4 of whom we ordained fr[om] among the elders at this place, gave gen[eral] instructions. <Dinner at Bp. [George W.] Sevey's>⁵⁶ Attended dramatic entertainment in the eve[ning,] "Carpenter of Rouen, Family Jars."⁵⁷

[February 26, 1893] Conference today. Morning & eve[ning.] I spoke at both meetings[,] in fact have spoken in all the meetings of this conference. There has been a most excellent spirit, the Lord has given me good liberty and the Saints have rejoiced. I thank thee, O my father for thy mercies, thy long suffering and thy kindness to me. I acknowledge my dependance upon Thee and give thee all praise & honor for all good accomplished. Speaking on the Fear of God being the beginning of wisdom, and insisting that it should read the Love of God is the beginning etc. Bro. Irving informed [me] that the German translation rendered it "The Reverence of God etc.) At the close of the afternoon services I bid the saints and my kind friend & Bro. Teasdale and his wife farewell,

Maria Bowen Call, and married Mary Theresa Thompson (1868-1957) in 1885 in Logan, Utah. He then married Harriet Cazier (1870-94) in 1890, Dora Pratt (1878-1904) in 1898, and Julia Sarah Abegg (1885-1937) in 1903, all in Mexico. Call served a mission to Great Britain in 1895-97 and was bishop of the Dublán ward from 1915 to 1930. He died there in 1958.

⁵³ George William Hardy was born in 1863 in Mountain Dell, Utah, and married Julia Ann Rogers (1860-1935) in 1885 in St. George, Utah. He then married Emma Sylvia Rowley (1878-1963) in 1898 and Bessie Butler (1867-?) in 1912, both in Mexico. Hardy was bishop of the Pacheco ward from 1895 to 1903. He died in 1921 in Oakley, Idaho.

⁵⁴ Dennison Emer Harris was born in 1854 in Springville, Utah. He married Eunice Polly Stewart (1860-1942) in 1882 and Annie Jane Wride (1864-1922) in 1866, both in Logan, Utah. He died in 1912 in Cardston, Alberta.

⁵⁵ William Howard Ivins was born in 1866 in St. George, Utah, to Israel and Julia Hill Ivins; married Sara Della Lancaster Redd (1870-1933) in 1891 in St. George; and died in 1937 in Overton, Nevada.

⁵⁶ George Washington Sevey (sometimes spelled Seavey) was born in 1832 in Le Roy, New York. He married three women in Utah: Phoebe Melinda Butler (1838-92) in 1854, Margaret Imlay (1853-97) in 1868, and Martha Ann Thomas (1857-1920) in 1877. He was a counselor in the Panguitch ward from 1877 to 1880 and moved to Mexico in 1887, where he served as bishop of the Juárez ward from 1887 to 1898. He died there in 1902.

⁵⁷ Both were popular, late nineteenth-century plays. "Carpenter of Rouen" was written by J. S. Jones (1811-1879), and the author of "Family Jars" is unknown.

and ~~read~~ rode with a Bro. [Miles] Romney⁵⁸ [and] family to their farm near Casas Grandes when I could take stage for r[ailwa]y station next day.

[February 27, 1893] Arose at 2 A.M. and worked in bed on my journal etc. Up at five — ate breakfast wh[ich] Sister Romney⁵⁹ had prepared. His son drove me over to the town of Casas Grandes 2 miles. Passed some ancient ruins on the way. Purchased seat on stage to Gallego.⁶⁰ At one P.M. reached Galeana — 25 miles [to the south-east]. Shared my lunch with driver who had none. Changed mules, and at 5 P.M. arrived at El Valle — <30 miles> where we must stay until 2 A.M. tomorrow. It has been a most disagreeable day; but I had my pleasant reflections amid the sand storms which raged nearly the whole of the way and at times amused my self in trying to converse with my Mexican driver & learning Spanish words & phrases, and teach him English words. When I arrived at El Valle it was with some difficulty that I made them understand that I would want a bed until two o clock and some supper. The stage drove thro[ugh] a narrow passage arched over into a combined corral & pig sty, and after unhitching his team ea led me thro[ugh] various passages and under arches to a mud room opening into a square court surrounded by high mud walls — 12 f[ee]t high. It was enough like my old prison yard to remind me of it and I walked about it while a Mexican woman & little girl — both dirty — sprinkled the <dirt> floor of my room and swept it. It was getting dusk when I managed to make a dirty half naked one eyed Mexican understand that I wanted supper. His wife who had tidied up my room got it for me. The supper itself was not so bad — eggs, beef stake & onion & peas, biscuit, beans — a staple diet in this country & black coffee, and [if] I did not see the cook preparing it I should doubtless have eaten it with a relish, but the black, bare footed, one eyed repulsive Mexican thro[ugh] whom I had ordered it insisted upon waiting

⁵⁸ Miles Park Romney was born in 1843 in Nauvoo, Illinois. In Utah he married Hannah Hood Hill (1842-1928) in 1862, Caroline Lambourne (1846-1979) in 1867, Catherine Jane Cottam (1855-1918) in 1873, and Annie Maria Woodbury (1858-1930) in 1877. In Mexico he married Emily Henrietta Eyring Snow (1870-1947) in 1897. He died in 1904 in Colonia Dublán.

⁵⁹ All three of Romney's wives were living in Mexico at this point.

⁶⁰ Gallego is 100 miles southeast of Casas Grandes and 135 miles south of El Paso, Texas. In Gallego, Roberts catches a train north to the United States.

upon me. Why is it that the deformed, the maimed and even ugly are so repulsive to me. I sympathize with the unfortunate, & to see one that is hurt, hurts me. But while I sympathize with them I cannot endure their presence and they always affect my appetite when eating. I love the beautiful almost to adoration. It is a constant pleasure to me to behold it either in nature or in art, and to the extent that I love the beautiful & to that extent I abhor the ugly or deformed. Please God I'll have my world beautiful. This Mexican ~~orig~~ ogre that was my bane at supper has built me a pleasant fire of corn cobb for which I gave him a quarter dollar, where upon he seized my hand and tried to kiss it — no, gra[c]i[a]s, ~~Senior~~ Amigo Mexican[o]!⁶¹ I shall get along with out that and you will be more welcome to the quarter without the kiss — Adios Amigo — Vamous — and he left me to my cobb fire, & my books & my thoughts.

[February 28, 1893] Instead of being allowed to sleep until two o'clock this morning was aroused at 11 last n[igh]t to resume my journey; and as I had not retired until ten my n[igh]t rest was decidedly brief. The new driver was a festive young man of talking manners I suppose among the Mexicans as he had been "out" to a party & was accompanied by several young men to the place from which we started & several clambored into the stage and he drove round to the "dance house" where he drank [to] their health and invited me in broken Spanish to join them — declined with thanks. Their intoxic[ic]ing beverage is made from the heart of the century plant and is called — muscall.⁶² It was a beautiful n[igh]t, clear and splendidly moon-lit, but very chilly. The country was wild and broken and the road in places very rough. No chance for talking — nothing but reflection and that was glorious. By six o'clock <in the morning> we reached San Lorenzo, having traveled [southeast] about 40 miles. The people were just leaving their miserable adobe huts for their field work in the fields. Some walked, some rode on diminutive asses or borros as they are here called and some few went off with horses. They all looked woe-begone and wretched — half clad — half starved in appearance, ~~The~~ and wraped about the shoulders with blankets which, however ragged or filthy, they ~~wear~~ wore with

⁶¹ In the original, Roberts says "no grasius Amigo Mexicana."

⁶² Roberts means mescal, a colorless alcoholic liquor made from the fermented juice of the agave plant.

peculiar grace. The men gone to the fields, the town seemed alive with women who came down to the stream that ran on the outer edge of the town with earthen pitchers on their shoulders, an exact counterpart of the pictures one sees from illustrated life in the far off east. The head-dress too is the same, consisting of a long narrow shawl <not unlike a Scotch plaid> placed over the head half muffling the face and thence gracefully thrown over the shoulder. Had these women only been beautiful one could have thought of Rebecca at the well of her father Laban. Breakfast here & at 9 am started for Galliana distance about thirty miles [east]. Roads fine, & made good time. Took dinner. Hither to have avoided the kitchen where these Mexican meals were prepared, but this time had to eat dinner in one even while cooking process was going on. It was an odd sight. Clear across one end of the room ran a mud bank two [feet] high by about five abroad, and in the center of this a fire was kindled. On the left of it sat a young girl very fleshy, rolling out little corn cakes on a flat rock with a small wooden roller; and as soon as she made them the shape that pleased her fancy, she placed them on an old broken <flat->iron heater supported on a sort of iron tripod, and placed a flat stone upon them to suppress any disposition they might have to "rise" I suppose. In the middle of the floor was the stone dish-like arrangement in which the corn had been ground, as primitive arrangement as ever the women of Judea sat down to 1800 years ago. There was no chimney by which the smoke from the fire could escape, it merely rose to the top of the room & then hung like a cloud, through the occasional rifts of which could be seen the blackened logs & sticks which formed the roof. A chicken which when the stage drove up was all ~~innocent~~ <unconscious> of impending danger had been caught and rudely thrust into the pot — not even all the feathers escaped the pot — the corn meal had been ground on the porphyry stone mill, and the corn cakes & the chicken was to constitute the meal dinner — with beans, I learned afterwards, for desert. Beside the girl aforementioned who was baking the cakes and an old lady who was the chief cook and the driver who was eating his dinner at the extreme end of the firm bench, and who was actually carrying on a flirtation with the young lady of the cakes whenever the old woman's back was turned. I had, first, two or three dogs (who had free access to the water pots in the far end of the room, (water from which the coffee

was made), two hogs and beyond these ~~in the yard~~ a number of chickens for an audience to watch me eat. I was sat down on one chair another was placed before me and a board on that for a table & so I proceeded. Having eaten all I could & making signs of drawing my meal to a close, the young woman of the cakes cries out — “Bueno, Bueno, Senior?” I shook my head. “Bueno, Bueno Senior, Si? <said the driver.> Another shake. Then the old lady said “Bueno” in a determined ~~expression~~ tone, took up my plate and with one sweep of her hand, the dexterity of which defies all description, she swept off the fragments of chicken & cake and gravy on the plate to the floor and then with her apron which had the appearance of having done like service a hundred times before she polished it clean, and then filled it with brown Mexican beans & set it before me with a smile of triumph as if she said if this young man don’t know the name of beans perhaps he will know beans when he sees them. But the dishwashing of the old woman however dexterous had been too much for me & I could not eat them. Where upon they all looked their disgust. Even the dogs & the hogs seemed ashamed to look at me longer, and the chickens seemed to cackle their disappoint<ment> when I arose to leave. I thrust a fifty cent Mexican bill into the old woman’s hand as I left the room to pay for the dinner & she said “gratias, Senior,” (thanks, sir.) ere I reached the stage however the driver came running after me with a twenty five cent piece in his hand as change — manifesting by signs & broken English that I had paid too much. I waved him, but he cried the more “no, senior,” no — muchus money too”! and thrust it upon me. Ah civilized man, would you have been so honest? ~~Continued~~ Arrived at Gallego just at dusk. This was the r[ailwa]y station I was making for[,] and in presenting my letter of introduction to the agent from Bro. [Henry] Eyring⁶³ of Juarez was kindly received by the agent Mr. N. W. Fernandez who provided me with supper & <a>bed to until 11 o’clock. At that hour the train arrived and I took [a] sleeper to El Paso, Texas.

[March 1, 1893] Arrived in El Paso about eight A.M. Stopped at the

⁶³ Henry Carlos Ferdinand Eyring was born in Germany in 1835. He married Maria Bommeli (1836-1913) in 1860 and Deseret Fawcett (1852-1926) in 1872, both in Salt Lake City. He was a counselor to President George Teasdale of the Mexican mission. Eyring died in 1902 in Colonia Juárez.

Pierson House near [the] S[outhern] P[acific] R[ailwa]y station. Spent 2 h[ou]rs viewing town, not favorably impressed, shabby place. At 11 took train for Deming[,] obtained letters from all the loved ones. All well – thank God. Obtained Salt Lake papers. Spent eve[ning] reading & writing.

[*March 2, 1893*] At 11-15 took train for Albuquerque N[ew] M[ex-ico,] arrived late at n[igh]t – finished letters to folks at home.

[*March 3, 1893*] At 4-30 took train for Navajo Springs.⁶⁴ Arrived at 2 P.M. Spent afternoon writing, reading etc. Evening ditto.

[*March, 4, 1893*] Took stage this A.M. for St George John's[, Ari-zona].⁶⁵ The country nothing but a sandy waste dotted in some parts with stunted spruce pine and cedar. In the afternoon passed over ground strewn with broken pottery marking a ruin of some ancient Aztec town. Arrived at St John's in eve[ning]. Meet a number of the brethren at the Bishop's but went to a Bro. John T. Lesueur⁶⁶ where I made my home. In the <eve[ning]> attended Y[oung] M[en]'s Conference. Elders Dalton & Cluff were missionaries in that cause & they occupied principle part of time[.] I followed. M Pres. [Grover] Cleveland elect was inaugurated President [today].

[*March 5, 1893*] This A.M. there was Sunday school Conference. A programme of songs, dialogues, recitations etc. Much of it was inappropriate and put a damper on the whole conference. Meeting in the afternoon I preached on atonement & first principles[.] A number of strangers present. Eve[ning] priesthood meeting.

[*March 6, 1893*] Conference resumed. Morning spent hearing reports etc. In the afternoon I spoke on importance of conference

⁶⁴ Navajo Springs was 160 miles west of Albuquerque, across the Arizona state line about ten miles west of present-day Sanders, immediately south of the current town of Navajo. The Atlantic and Pacific Railroad ran a line from Albuquerque west through northern Arizona.

⁶⁵ St. Johns is about fifty miles south of Sanders and forty miles east of Snowflake.

⁶⁶ John Taylor Lesueur was born in Jersey, Channel Islands, in 1852. He married Geneva Katherine Casto (1857-1927) in 1875 in Montpelier, Idaho. Lesueur was a member of the St. Johns High Council and died in 1945 in Mesa, Arizona.

etc. [F]air liberty. Afternoon went 17 miles to Erastus⁶⁷ where I held meeting in the eve[n]ing — not good liberty. <Between meetings on Monday [March 6] had a meeting of Seventies of 104[th] Quorum. Ordained Jos[eph] B. Patterson⁶⁸ & Marinus Christensen⁶⁹ Pres-[idents,] & Henry C. Overson⁷⁰ & Jacob N. Buttler⁷¹ members. Gave general instructions.> The ride from St John's to Erastus was very cold, suffered much fr[om] it.

[March 7, 1893] Traveled fr[om] Erastus to Snowflake in an open carriage. Cold & windy snow & hail part of the way. Stopped with Pres. Jesse N. Smith [b]ro. to S[ilas] S. Smith of Manassa & cousin to prophet Joseph Smith. It was 4 P.M. when I arrived at S[nowflake] and immediately word was sent out announcing meeting for that n[igh]t. There was a good attendance, fair liberty. Spent an enjoyable evening with Bro. Smith. He is a man of pleasant & easy conversation and on frontier life has a large store of knowledge.

[March 8, 1893] Held meeting this A.M. with the quorum of seventies located here — the 83rd. Gave general instructions & enjoyed great freedom. Thought at first would fill the 2 vacancies that existed in council, but found that the one man I thought most suitable — Bro Ja[me]s Flake⁷² — was opposed by Pres. of the Stake as the latter claimed that Bro. F[lake] opposed the policy of the Stake Authority. I was not sufficiently acquainted with the parties or the situation to be clear in my judgement of the matter and resolved

⁶⁷ Erastus was settled in 1880 on the outskirts of the Mexican town of Concho about sixteen miles west of St. Johns and was named for LDS apostle Erastus Snow. The town became part of Concho in 1895.

⁶⁸ Joseph Bowman Patterson was born in 1853 in England. He married Margaret Emily Richey (1860-1942) in 1881 in St. Johns, Arizona. He died there in 1933.

⁶⁹ Marinus Christensen was born in 1863 in Denmark. He married Frances Ann Thomas (1864-1950) in 1883 in St. Johns, Arizona, and died there in 1927.

⁷⁰ Henry Christian Overson was born in 1868 in Ephraim, Utah. He married Margaret Godfrey Jarvis (1878-1968) in 1896 in Salt Lake City and died in St. Johns in 1947.

⁷¹ Jacob Noah Butler was born in 1852 in Council Bluffs, Iowa. He married Sarah Ann Prince (1858-1954) in 1876 and Mary Serena Davis (1871-1914) in 1888, both in St. George. He died in Greer, Arizona, in 1919.

⁷² James Madison Flake was born in 1859 in Beaver, Utah. He married Nancy Jane Hall (1858-95) in 1877 and Martha Amelia Smith (1877-1931) in 1896; served a mission to Great Britain, 1887-89; and was first counselor in the Snowflake stake from 1907 to 1923. He died in 1946 in Snowflake.

that it was better to let the ~~matter~~ vacancy stand for the present until a better judgement could be formed as to the situation. When perplexed what to do it is nearly always best to do nothing. Took stage to Holbrook⁷³ where I was received kindly by Bro[ther]s Knight & [Joseph] Fish⁷⁴ — Louisa's second cousin. Took train for Albuquerque[, New Mexico].⁷⁵

[March 9, 1893] Missed the train at the A[tlantic] & P[acific] junction at 4-20 A.M. Our train failed to connect by about 20 minutes & hence had to go on to Albuquerque.⁷⁶ Put up at the Amigo Hotel, and spent the day there mainly engaged in outlining my course of lectures on Ch[urch] Hist[ory] to be delivered at the Salt Lake College.⁷⁷

[March 10, 1893] Took train at 4-20 A.M. for Deming. Arrived O.K. but found the S[outhern] P[acific] train five h[ou]rs late. Wrote letters home in answer to those received at this point. Took train at 7-30 P.M. and arrived at Bowie⁷⁸ at 12 midn[ight].

[March 11, 1893] Took passage on stage coach this A.M. and road 50 miles to Thatcher⁷⁹ and was kindly received by Brø Pres. [Christopher] Layton &⁸⁰ family. Good nights rest. (In the eve[n]ing)

⁷³ Holbrook is about seventy miles north of Snowflake.

⁷⁴ Joseph Fish was born in 1840 in Illinois. He married Mary Campbell Steele (1840-76) in 1859, Eliza Jane Lewis (1853-1940) in 1869, Adelaide Margaret Smith (1857-1927) in 1876, and Julia Ann Reidhead (1865-1951) in 1883. He was a merchant, Arizona state legislator, and a high council member in the Snowflake stake. He died in 1926 in Enterprise, Utah.

⁷⁵ Roberts wanted to travel south about 140 miles to Thatcher, Arizona, but a straight line through the White Mountains, Fort Apache Indian Reservation, the Gila River, and other obstacles was impossible. Instead, he took the train back to Albuquerque and traveled south almost to Mexico to catch the Southern Pacific train from Deming to Bowie—re-entering Arizona from the east—for a total of well over 500 miles.

⁷⁶ What Roberts means is that because the Atlantic and Pacific train was late, he missed his connection with the Santa Fe train to Deming and therefore had to lay over in Albuquerque.

⁷⁷ Roberts refers to Latter-day Saints College, formerly known as the Salt Lake Stake Academy and later renamed the LDS Business College. See Harold R. Laycock, "Academies," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), 1:12.

⁷⁸ Located in the southeastern corner of Arizona some 100 miles west of Deming.

⁷⁹ Approximately forty miles northwest of Bowie in the Gila Valley.

⁸⁰ Christopher Layton, St. Joseph Stake president from 1893 to 1898, was born

<ex>Bishop [Issac] Zundel⁸¹ my an old prison friend and Bro. [William] Johnson[,]⁸² Pres. Layton's first Counsellor[,] came in & spent the eve[ning] — good time).

[March 12, 1893] Conference this morning: drove 5 miles to Pima ward⁸³ where the meetings were held. Pleasant day. The lucern is up here several inches, wheat ditto. Peach & other trees in bloom. The Saints here have evidently a good location and are on the high way to prosperity. Meetings were well attended. B[isho]ps Reported. I spoke both forenoon and after, Met had pretty fair liberty. Met with the Pres. of seventies between the meetings & made arrangements for additions to quorum etc. Eve[ning] at Pres. Layton's. Bp. [Samuel Claridge]⁸⁴ of Thatcher & Pres. Johnson (1st counsellor to Pres. L[ayton]) came in & we conversed [on] names of Elders for 70s. I felt sad & lonely ever since meeting was dismissed[,] why [I] can't say for this spirit of sadness comes at times like a cloud over the summer sun; and at times I would not have it otherwise for there is a sweetness about it that is almost pleasant. I think it is caused by loneliness, comes infact for a desire for companionship.

in 1821 in Northill, England. He married Caroline Cooper (1836-1912) and Mary Matthews (1820-45), both on the same day in 1842 in Northill; Martha Otterson (1821-) in 1849 in San Francisco; Sarah Martin (1822-64) in 1850 in Northill; and in Salt Lake City he married Sarah Barnes (1826-1906) in 1852, Isabella Golightly (1836-77) in 1854, Rosa Ann Hudson (1843-1915) in 1862, Hannah Maria Sims (1848-89) in 1865, Mary Jane Roberts (1851-1936) in 1869, and Elizabeth Hannah Williams (1843-1915) in 1878. He lived in Davis County and served as Davis stake president and bishop of Kaysville before moving to Arizona. He died in 1898 in Kaysville.

⁸¹ Issac Eberhard David Zundel was born in 1840 in Nauvoo, Illinois. He married Elizabeth Jane Harding (1840-1925) in 1865 and Idumea Hunsaker (1860-1937) in 1883, both in Salt Lake City. He served a three-month term in the Utah territorial prison concurrently with Roberts, June-September 1889, and paid a \$100 fine for unlawful cohabitation. He was bishop of the Thatcher ward from 1899 to 1902. He died in 1920 in Medford, Oregon.

⁸² William Didymus Johnson was born in 1833 in Haddam, Connecticut, to Lorenzo and Mary Lyman Johnson. He married Caroline Louise Wild (1838-1921) in 1858 in Springville, Utah. He was a counselor in the St. Joseph stake presidency from 1898 to 1907 and died in 1910 in Thatcher, Arizona.

⁸³ Organized in 1879, the Pima ward was a few miles north of Thatcher and part of the St. Joseph stake.

⁸⁴ Samuel Claridge was born in 1828 in England. He married Charlotte Joy (1819-84) in 1849 in England and Rebecca Hughes (1847-1923) in 1865 in Salt Lake City. He was bishop of the Thatcher ward from 1884 until 1899. He died in Thatcher in 1919.

Dreams

Have had several dreams lately, one of which was very cheering. In company with my son Ben thought I was cultivating a garden, a most beautiful one — the plants were all healthy & forward. We were irrigating it with a most beautiful stream of sparkling clear water. And as the stream was divided & sent down the rows of the vegetables I felt a conscious pride in my work, and there was a happy spirit about me when I awoke. Clear sparkling water has always been symbolical of prosperity & peace in my dreams, while muddy turbulent water has ever been a forewarning of trouble.

Dreamed also the other n[igh]t that I was in Liverpool in front of 42 Islington⁸⁵ and that I went down to Lord St[reet] to be measured for a suit of clothes, going to the tailors where my clothes were formerly made. Last night I wa dreamed that I was in Trafalgar Square [in] London looking into the shop windows & noticing the style of architecture of the buildings. As I looked up [at] the Strand fr[om] the square it appeared very natural. Am I to go to England again? Is that what these dreams mean or are they but sleeping thoughts of the past?

[*March 13, 1893*] To my astonishment on writing the above date I remember that it is the anniversary of my birth day. Am now 36 years of age — one step down fr[om] the summit of my life so far as time is concerned, that is if we count 70 y[ea]rs as the time allotted to man. I shall not live that allotted time. Before that time I shall doubtless “Lay me wi’ the inglorious dead, forgot & gone.”⁸⁶ But these sad thoughts aside — thoughts which ever come whenever I think upon this subject, I hope that I shall live long enough to do much more than has yet been done by me. Alas! how little one can accomplish! How like a dream is life in which things seem like shadows that flit about one almost as unstable as the summer clouds which come & go one scarce knows how. I cannot peer much into the future, I wish I could do so more. ~~What~~ How ~~much~~ I wish I knew where I would be next y[ea]r at this time and what would be accomplished between now & then. Well suffice it to say that the year will close as closes the day and with its close what’s done will be known. To thee Almighty God, do I dedicate the year of my life

⁸⁵ The address of the British mission offices in Liverpool.

⁸⁶ Robert Burns, “Epistle to James Smith,” stanza 10.

which with this beautiful day I begins. Accept — it is thine as I will endeavor to make all the years that shall follow it. Preserve my life to <the> close <of this y[ea]r> if thou will — but in this not my will but Thy will be done; I am thine to do even as Thou will; only this I ask, keep me from s~~o~~ deadly sin that I may not mar the hopes I have of Eternal life.

Attended conference meetings and had an enjoyable time. The Lord truly blessed me today. Have not enjoyed such liberty for some time. I thank the Lord for it. Between forenoon & afternoon met with the 89th Quorum. Ordained nine members and two Presidents — H[enry] G. Boyle⁸⁷ and <G. W.> Williams.⁸⁸ Bro. Boyle is quite a noted missionary having labored many years in the South and California. Gave usual instructions to the seventies. Spent a pleasant eve[n]ing at the home of Pres. Layton. So passed ~~my~~ the first day in my 36th y[ea]r.

[March 14, 1893] Spent part of the morning writing letters, etc. Rode out with Pres. Layton viewing the country. This Gila Valley is a very fine country. The climate is warm, the seasons, long, the soil fertile and the people are becoming very prosperous. The people are faithful. In proof of it the Presidency appointed them to raise \$900 for the [Salt Lake] Temple, they raised double the am[ou]nt; and yesterday <in the afternoon meeting I> I prophesied in the name of the Lord that because of the liberality of the Saints in subscribing for the completion of the temple[,] that this year should be the most prosperous the Church had ever known. Took dinner with my old prison friend Isaac Zundel. Related spiritual experiences etc. with him[,] a Bro. Hill being present. Bro. Zundel related the following: On the 16th of October 1892 he dreamed that he was standing where a strange Indian was addressing a crowd of our common Indians. The speaker often used the word “Tiniamboni” a

⁸⁷ Henry Green Boyle was born in 1824 in Virginia, was baptized in 1843, and moved to Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1844. He served in the Mormon Battalion, later to return to California to help colonize San Bernardino. He married Keziah Donnell Holladay (1834-53) in 1849, Elizabeth S. Ballard (1837-1920) in 1859, Arabella McKinley (1844-1914) in 1865, and Martha Francis Taylor in 1869. He served several missions and was president of the Southern States mission, 1875-78. He also served a term in the Utah territorial prison in 1888 for unlawful cohabitation and paid a \$100 fine. He died in 1902 in Pima, Arizona.

⁸⁸ George William Washington Williams was born in 1845 in Illinois. He married Lydia Ferrin (1852-1901) in 1869 in Salt Lake City and died in 1908 in Los Angeles.

word which Bro. Z[undel] did not understand and he asked an Indian by whom he stood what the word meant. The interpretation was given to mean "our numbers are great." When Bro. Z[undel] awoke he was sitting up in bed repeating the word Tiniamboni; and someone by his bed side said: "Get up and write the word down." "How shall I spell it" said he, and the personage spelled it as above & Bro Z[undel] arose and wrote it down together with its meaning. Held meeting in the eve[ning] in the interest of the Ch[urch's] movement in Education. Large attendance and good liberty.

[*March 15, 1893*] Took stage this A.M. in company with Bro. B[enjamin] Cluff, Sen.⁸⁹ of Provo. At Safford[, Arizona,]⁹⁰ we took in two commercial travelers. Disagreeable day windy & dusty. Took train at Bowie — where we arrived at 5 P.M. — for Maricopa[, Arizona].⁹¹ Arrived there at 12-30 n[igh]t.

[*March 16, 1893*] At 3 P.M. A.M. this arrived at Tempe[, Arizona,] & put up at the Tempe House. At 8 took a walk thro[ugh] the streets of Tempe. It was a delightful scene that met my eye — summer land, Palms, ever-greens, & mingled with the light fresh greens of the other trees then putting forth their leaves truly a beautiful country. Took [Phoenix, Tempe, and Mesa] stage at nine & rode out 7 mi[les] to Mesa City & stopped at the house of Pres. Bro. C[harles] I. Robson.⁹² In the afternoon drove over a good deal of the surrounding country.

⁸⁹ Benjamin Cluff was born in 1830 in Durham, England. He married sisters Mary Ellen Foster (1837-1907) and Eliza Arnetta Foster (1841-80) in 1854 and 1856 respectively. He served as bishop of the Center Ward in Wasatch County, Utah, from 1877 to 1893 and would later relocate to Mexico, where he died in 1909.

⁹⁰ Safford is immediately southeast of Thatcher and Pima, approximately fifty miles northwest of Bowie.

⁹¹ An important stage coach transfer point about 135 miles northwest of Safford and twenty-five miles south of Tempe. In Maricopa, travelers boarded twenty-passenger coaches for Tucson and Tombstone to the southeast and Tempe/Phoenix to the north, Phoenix being just north of Tempe. Immediately east of Tempe is Mesa, which Roberts also visits. To cover the 135 miles to Maricopa, Roberts will take a stage south to Bowie, then presumably southwest to Tucson and northwest to Tempe for a total of about 300 miles.

⁹² Charles Innes Robson, Maricopa stake president from 1887 to 1894, was born in 1837 in South Shields, England. He was baptized in 1851 and came to the United States three years later. He was active in church and political positions in both Utah and Arizona. He married Sarah Ann Barrett Curtis (1830-?) and Francelle Eugenia Pomeroy (1841-?) on unknown dates and died in 1894 in Mesa.

[March 17, 1893] In co[mpany] with Pres. Robson, his Counsellor Bro. [Collins] Hakes⁹³ & Henry Horne,⁹⁴ I went to Phoenix the capital of Arizona. We met here a number of the legislators including the Speaker of the house [Frank Baxter] & the President of the council [T. G. Norris and] two of our brethren, a Bro. [Henry] Rogers⁹⁵ from Maricopa & Bro. [George] Skinner⁹⁶ of the St. Joseph Stake.⁹⁷ Spent the eve[ning] in our rooms at the [Commercial] Hotel talking of the things of the kingdom.

[March 18, 1893] As I had taken in the whole town the day before there was nothing now to do but wait until the brethren were ready to go. I wasted my time reading a vile book that I got at a book stall in the town. At 2 P.M. we left for home stopping about a mile fr[om] town to see a number of Australian Bushmen on exhibition throw the boomerang. Their skill was remarkable. The instrument was a curved blade like stick like this [drawing in original] and thrown in such a manner as to describe a double circle and fall near the feet of the party thrower. They are supposed to be the very lowest types of humanity being degraded & cannibals. After hearing the showman's description of them I could say — then this is the

⁹³ Collins Rowe Hakes was born in 1837 in Grafton, Ohio. He came to Utah with Amasa Lyman in 1848 and spent the years 1851-1857 in San Bernardino, where he married Mabel Ann Morse (1840-1909) in 1857. He moved to Parowan, Utah, in 1858. In 1885, he relocated to Mesa and served there as second counselor in the stake presidency, 1885-1894, and as stake president, 1894-1905. He died in 1916 in Mesa, Arizona.

⁹⁴ Henry James Horne was born in 1838 in Quincy, Illinois, and was with the initial company of pioneers that reached Utah in 1847. He spent his youth in Salt Lake City, where he married Mary Ann Crismon (1842-1906) in 1860; moved to Paris, Idaho, and was bishop of the Paris ward from 1877 to 1880; then settled in Arizona, where he was bishop of the St. David ward (between Tucson and Tombstone) and a member of the Maricopa stake high council. He died in 1927 in Mesa, Arizona.

⁹⁵ Henry Clay Rogers was born in 1833 in New York. He came to Utah in 1852 and lived in Provo, where he was a county sheriff and city marshal. He married Emma Higbee (1836-1925) in 1855. In 1876 he moved to Arizona and was a counselor in the Maricopa stake from 1878 to 1902 and president of the Papago/Pima Indian Mission. He died in 1902 in Lehi, Arizona, which was just north of Mesa.

⁹⁶ George W. Skinner was born in Bristol, England, in 1852. He lived in New York before moving west, where he was baptized in 1869. He married Mary Elizabeth Straton (1855-1908) in 1873 in Salt Lake City. In 1881 he moved to Graham, Arizona, and served as bishop of the Graham ward. After his first wife's death, he married Martha A. Matlock (1868-?) in 1913. He died five years later in Graham.

⁹⁷ The stake's name came from the town of St. Joseph, immediately northwest of Holbrook. The town has since been renamed Joseph City.

worst! What strange children our Father has! There is a good many things hard to account for in the differences race of Men — whence they came, why the difference — are they all of one family etc. etc. Spent the eve at a social party in the public amusement hall. The occasion was that of a farewell party [for those] about to start on missions. I made a few remarks.

[*March 19, 1893*] Quarterly conference convened at 10 A.M. I occupied the time on Ch[urch] Gov[ernmen]t. Spoke again in the afternoon on Restoration of the Gospel etc. Good freedom. Y.M.I.A. meeting in the eve at which I occupied some of the time on the spirit & purpose of Isa[iah's] work — a hard day for me[,] spoke in all about 5 hrs. & one half. <Held 70's meeting with the 90th q[uorum] between forenoon & afternoon meeting — gave instruction etc.>

[*March 20, 1893*] Conference well attended today. B[isho]ps reports etc. etc. Occupied most of the afternoon on a variety of local topics & offered such advice as occurred to me. [V]ery good liberty for which I am deeply grateful to my Father in Heaven whose goodness & mercy passes all understanding. Bro. [Collins] Hake — Pres. Robson's counsellor drove me to Tempe. Enroute he related to me their political experiences of the brethren located there and of the effort made by some of the brethren of the General Authorities to get them to move in favor of the Gen Republican parties etc. Same spirit manifest as in Utah. Elders John Morgan's letters <fr[om] Washington> were referred to as being the most persistent efforts made. Took train at 8 P.M. for Maricopa, 80 miles distant. Then boarded Southern Pacific train for Los Angeles at midnight.

[*March 21, 1893*] Woke up at Indio[, California,]⁹⁸ this morning & found that our train had been "tied up" on account of washouts ahead. Very disagreeable, but better [to] be "tied up" than to have run into the breakage & get wrecked, ~~or~~ killed and maimed, or what would be a lesser evil — killed. Had to stay all day & night. We were fortunate too in that we had a good place to stay at. The whole country about us was a bleak desert; and the valley was consider-

⁹⁸ On the edge of the Mojave Desert a few miles north of the Salton Sea, 100 miles east of Los Angeles and approximately 250 miles west of Phoenix.

ably lower than the sea level and at one time was evidently the part of the ocean bed. Indio was an oasis in this desert with fine pepper & palm trees, and there was plenty of food to be had. How kind & good hath Providence ever been to me in my travels. I have never been in a wreck all these years of my traveling. They have occurred just before me & behind me, but have never been in one.

[*March 22, 1893*] About nine this A.M. the roads & bridges having been repaired we started for Los Angeles. Had desert for some distance but presently dropped down into one of the most lovely valleys I ever saw. The lands were well cultivated, the <low> hills were covered with wheat and lucern, and the valley was crowded with orange & lemon orchards. There were also peach orchards and apricots in full bloom. From a station called Colton⁹⁹ to Los Angeles[,] a distance of nearly 50 miles[,] is one of the prettiest valleys I have ever seen. We arrived at Los Angeles about 4 P. M. — a delightful city built on sand hills once piled up by the waves of the ocean. Many of the business blocks are solid & substantial, the residences palatial. Spent the afternoon in viewing the city and in the evening attended the Theatre — Frank Daniels.¹⁰⁰

[*March 23, 1893*] This A.M. continued viewing the city. At 2 P.M. took train for San Francisco. Soon left the fertile valley about Los Angeles & plunged into a desolate hill country, badly washed by the recent rains.

[*March 24, 1893*] When I arose early this A.M. we were running thro[ugh] the fertile & well cultivated San Joaquin valley. The holdings were apparently very large & most probably in possession of a few men; but the cultivation was fine — nearly the whole valley may be described as one great wheatfield. Arrived at Oakland about ten A.M., crossed the bay to San Francisco getting a view of the famous Golden Gate in passing. I put up at the Palace Hotel¹⁰¹ — the finest in San Francisco[,] said also to be the finest in the world. It certainly is magnificent and one of the sights of the city. Spent the day in

⁹⁹ A railroad stop northwest of Indio near San Bernardino.

¹⁰⁰ Frank Daniels (1860-1935) was a noted late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century actor.

¹⁰¹ The Palace Hotel was built in 1875 and was said to be one of the finest hotels in the country and the tallest building west of the Mississippi. It was destroyed by fire in the 1906 earthquake.

viewing the city riding out to different points on the st[reet] r[ailwa]y a cheap & very comodous way of seeing the sights. [I]n the eve[n]ing attended the Baldwin Theatre¹⁰² — Bostonians¹⁰³ — a very excellent company of singers.

[*March 25, 1893*] I went out to the famous seal rocks in the Pacific ocean[.] It was a beautiful day. The surf was rolling & breaking on the low, sandy beach in grand style. As [I walked on the beach] the breakers dashed up to my very feet & then would gently recede leaving patches of light foam lying about. I thought of the beautiful language of Job concerning the sea & the decree of God — Thus far shalt thou come but no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed. Returning to the Hotel found Elder John Dalton,¹⁰⁴ who is laboring as a traveling Elder in the state of California. Spent the rest of the afternoon with him in conversation about his labors & prospects. In the eve[n]ing we procured a guide and went thro[ugh] Chinatown. Visited a Chinese josh [joss] house — temple. Had my fortune told by a Chinese priest. It was a strange affair. After obtaining my name, small lighted torches of a peculiar Chinese wood was placed about the idol; and not only before him but in front of the <a> figure — made to represent the devil. Then the priest's assistant struck a huge gong to wake "Josh" up, lest perchance he should be sleeping. The priest then began his prayers & incantations in a low voice all of which was unintelligent to me of course since it was all done in the Chinese language. This ended he took two pieces of wood, which resembled a huge potato cut in two length wise. Then after clapping [them] together he threw [them] to the floor. If these pieces fell een so that the convex sides were down then "Josh" would give you "good" fortune. If they both fell flat side down that was an indication of bad fortune. If one lay on the flat side & the

¹⁰² Built in 1876 as Baldwin's Academy of Music, it was located in the Baldwin Hotel on Market Street. Until it burned down in 1895, this 1,900-seat theater hosted stars and touring companies and was a favorite of San Francisco's society set.

¹⁰³ The Boston Ideal Comic Opera Company was renamed "The Bostonians" in 1887. From then until it ceased operation in 1895, it was one of the most popular light opera touring companies of the day.

¹⁰⁴ John Luther Dalton was born in 1843 in Nauvoo, Illinois. He married Mary Studer (1844-1931) in 1866 in Peterson, Utah, and Amy Edgley (1869-1922) in 1890 in Mexico. He was set apart as president of the California mission on 11 August 1892 by Apostle Franklin D. Richards and served through February 1894. He died in 1908 in Pocatello, Idaho.

other on the convex that was a sign of fairly good fortune. Three times did my the split potato like machine so turn up for me. Their That indicated very fair fortune. Then the priest took a bunch of sticks about ten inches long and putting them in a long vase like holder began to shake them until one fell out. These sticks are numbered; and after obtaining the number the priest consults a book to which your number in which to find your fortune as written by Josh in the book of fate. My n[umber] gave good fortune. I should be successful in whatever I undertook etc. etc. We visited opium dens [in] kitchens of private families. There were plenty of narrow passages, filth, sin, crime, prostitution and I know not what else. After About 45 or 50 thousand souls were cooped up in space not larger than half of one of Salt Lake's blocks (five acres). I turned away from it sick & disgusted with the filth & degradation that I had seen.

[March 26, 1893] Went to Oakland with Bro. Dalton to attend meeting. But few present, not more than 12. I preached. In the afternoon in company with Bro. Dalton & Dr. Vandenberg I drove thro[ugh] the Golden Gate Park one of the most splendid in the world; went out as far as seal rocks again & enjoyed a drive on the beach. Had a fine team & carriage, the air was bracing and the outing was truly enjoyable. Returned in time to attend meeting at 7 P.M. Still fewer people than at Oakland. An Examiner reporter was present & took notes of my remarks. Had a conversation with him after the service.

[March 27, 1893] This morning the Examiner had a brief but very fair report of our meeting of last eve[ning].¹⁰⁵ Accompanied Bro. Dalton to Sacramento[,] 90 miles fr[om] San Fran[cisco]. Met his family & visited several families and administered to an aged Bro. of the name of Garlick. Visited the Capitol — a splendid structure — and also Sutter's <old> Fort. It was at Sutter's Mill up in the m[ountain]s fr[om] here that some members of the Mormon Battalion made the first discoveries of gold in Cal[ifornia].¹⁰⁶ Talked

¹⁰⁵ The newspaper reported that the "attendance was small for no public announcement of the event had been made. There were four ladies in the congregation, but they were merely spectators" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 27 March 1893, 3).

¹⁰⁶ After the approximately five hundred volunteers in the Mexican-American War known as the Mormon Battalion were released in Los Angeles in 1847, some of them traveled east to meet their families in the Midwest, some settled in and around

~~much~~ with Bro. Dalton about his missionary labors all thro[ugh] the day & gave him my views on how he should go at it etc. Bro. D[alton] is in bad shape financially, both here and at home, and I think he is some what broken in spirit. Left about midnight on train for Ogden.

[March 28, 1893] Traveled all day thro[ugh] dreary country; spent day in work on my lectures before college in Salt Lake and in reading Macaulay's Hist[ory of] Eng[land].¹⁰⁷

[March 29, 1893] When woke up this A.M. was approaching Ogden. Beautiful morning could see the country had been drenched with rain & snow. M[ountain]s seemed to be full of the "beautiful" which promises fruitful harvests for the people. Arrived at Centerville 10-30 A.M. Met by my daughter Adah & my son Ben. Both well[,] had come to meet me with carriage. Before arrived home was met by the other little ones Lo, Luna, & Tensie.¹⁰⁸ Found Louisa & the babe also well. Spent the day writing up journal & looking about & planning gardening etc.

[March 30 1893] This morning on 8 A.M. motor [commuter train]. Spent morning in attending to several items of business. Met Elder [Francis M.] Lyman at the office & had a few happy moments with him. At 11 the council convened & I met all the members thereof. Gave a report of my recent mission which was approved; assisted in the routine business. After Council meeting adjourned the six Presidents of our council¹⁰⁹ repaired to the room which has been set apart for its use of the First Seven Presidents of the Seventies in

Pueblo, Colorado, and others joined the Mormon colony of New Hope near Modesto, California. About fifty of the latter were hired to help build and operate a saw mill for John Sutter in Coloma and were present for the gold discovery in 1848. See, e.g., David L. Bigler, ed., *The Gold Discovery Journal of Azariah Smith* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990).

¹⁰⁷ Thomas B. Macaulay (1800-59), the English Whig politician, essayist, and historian, wrote the multi-volume *History of England* that was widely read in the nineteenth century. He is considered a founder of the Whig interpretation of history which, according to Herbert Butterfield, saw the past as progressing in a straight line toward liberal parliamentary democracy and considered historical characters to be either winners (those who favored progress) or losers (those who opposed it).

¹⁰⁸ Roberts uses the nicknames for his daughters Louisa and Hortense.

¹⁰⁹ Jacob Gates died on 14 April 1892.

the Temple. It is located on the south side of the Temple in the west end & commands a fine view of the city — and the mountains beyond fr[om] its circular windows. It is about 24 ft in length by 16 wide, and next to it on the east is the room occupied by the Twelve Apostles. On entering the room a pleasing sense of gratitude filled my heart for the priveleges thus accorded to our council and that we should here have the privelege of meeting in council & prayer. The purpose of our assembling together on this occasion was to ascertaining the feelings entertained towards each other by the members of the council; and to know if we stood in full accord with our brethren of the other presiding quorums — the First Presidency & the Quorum of the Twelve. Each member of the Council expressed himself as having full confidence in the Presidency & the Twelve and also <as> in being in full fellow ship one with another with the members of our own council. In my remarks I referred to the course I had taken in politics and expressed myself as thinking that perhaps a misapprehension had existed as to the course I had taken by reason of the fact that they were not aware that I had called upon the Presidency during the progress of the campaign and had submitted myself to their counsel offering to withdraw intirely fr[om] the campaign. At the conclusion of my remarks Bro. Seymour B. Young desired that I should call upon the Presidency and acknowledge my errors in regard to my political operations and also to express to Bro. Lyman my present feelings on the subject of Pres. Woodruff's Manifesto in respect to Plural Marriage. I agreed to do so. In the afternoon called upon Margaret; found herself & family well tho[ugh] she had passed thro[ugh] bitter experiences during my absence.

[March 31, 1893] Called at the Latter-day Saints college this morning at nine to begin a course of lectures of on Church History; but learned on arriving there from Bro. Doan [Willard Done]¹¹⁰ that school would be dismissed during conference week and that between my introductory & the lectures there would be nearly two weeks. I therefore concluded that it would be best to postpone the

¹¹⁰ Willard T. Done was born in 1865 in Moroni, Utah. He married Sarah Amanda Forbes (1867-1935) in 1885. Done served as president of the Salt Lake Stake Academy from 1886 to 1899 and as a member of the YMMIA general board from 1898 to 1917. He died in 1931 in Salt Lake City.

beginning until they could run right on without so long an interval. Called on Pres. Woodruff and made to him ~~my~~ a report of my labors while on my late mission. He expressed himself as satisfied with my labors. He said to me in parting that the Presidency desired to see me upon other matters and appointed two o'clock P.M. When I met with the brethren at 2 P.M. Apostles F[rancis] M. Lyman, F[ranklin] D. Richards, J[ohn] H[enry] Smith were present and before the meeting was over Elders Brigham Young [Jr.]¹¹¹ & [George] Teasdale came in. After some talk on the matter of what should be the tenor of the talk of the Elders during Conference; and also some remarks on the Holy Ghost and how He could be a personage & yet be everywhere — “my case” was reached by Pres. Woodruff remarking that I had come in to have some talk with them as to the course I had pursued in political affairs. I explained that I had come there by request of Pres. Seymour B. Young & also of Pres. Woodruff[,] being informed that there were some matters upon which they wished to converse with me before the dedication services began[,]¹¹² that there might be a perfect understanding among us all and a perfect union etc. Bro. <G[eorge] Q.> Cannon then stated that each quorum had been requested to set itself in order and if I had come there to have any matter investigated they (The Presidency) had no time. Elder Geo. Reynolds who was present, and to whom ~~sub-rosa~~ ~~I had~~ ~~soto voce~~ I had said that I scarcely knew how to introduce the matter, now spoke up and stated what had been asked of me by the First Council & that I was there ~~to~~ to respond to their wishes. As nearly as I remember the points propounded to me were as follows: Did I recognize the right of the First Presidency to counsel the members of the Church in all matters temporal & spiritual, or did I think they were limited as to the subjects upon which they should give council. My answer to the above in substance was as follows: I recognize the right of the Almighty to give revelations to his children upon all subjects temporal & spiritual, ~~he may give~~ there <are> no limits that can be fixed beyond which he may not go; and his children in loving obedience

¹¹¹ Brigham Young Jr. (1836-1903) was ordained an apostle in February 1864 and sustained to the Quorum of the Twelve in October 1868. He served as a counselor to his father, Brigham Young, from 1873 to 1877 and as president of the Twelve from 1901 until his death.

¹¹² The dedication of the Salt Lake Temple commenced on April 6 and continued over a period of nineteen days through sixteen repetitions of the ceremony. This was done to accommodate everyone who wanted to attend.

should submit to the counsels of his will. When God speaks to me that is the end of controversy. As the President of the Church is God's mouthpiece to the people he too was free to reveal to the people whatever God revealed to him & they were under the same obligations to obey the word of God ~~to him~~ thro[ugh] him as when God himself spoke. I referred to the course I had taken on the Manifesto[,] acknowledged my wrong etc. My remarks ~~were so~~ and acknowledgements were accepted by the brethren & the Presidency & the Apostles gave me the right hand of fellowship ~~to me~~[.] Returned to Centerville in eve[ning].

[April 1, 1893] At home all day attending to various items of business. Eve[ning] at Charley Smith's¹¹³ at a birthday sociable.

[April 2, 1893] At home. Attended Sunday School with Adah & meeting with Sister R[oberts] in the afternoon <did not speak>. City in the eve[ning].

[April 3, 1893] Went to Centerville; spent the day in various jobs about home.

[April 4, 1893] Attended the 63rd annual Conference of the Church at the Tabernacle. Splendid congregation.

[April 5, 1893] Attended Conference this morning and in connection with Elders Lyman, Morgan, Kimball & others was sent to the Assembly Hall to take charge of the overflow meeting. Occupied part of the time. The temple as a sermon — my theme. <Bro. Rulon S. Wells chosen to fill vacancy> in our council.¹¹⁴

[April 6, 1893] Attended Dedication of the Temple, Louisa with me.

[April 7, 1893] At Dedication of Temple all day.

¹¹³ Charles Leavitt Smith, Louisa's brother, was born in 1862 in Centerville, Utah, to William R. and Emeline Leavitt Smith. He married Pamela Elizabeth Thompson (1866-1957) on 8 February 1893 in Salt Lake City. A horticulturist, the public knew him as "Peach Tree Charlie." He died in 1924 in Centerville.

¹¹⁴ Rulon Seymour Wells (1854-1941) was sustained as one of the First Seven Presidents of Seventy on 5 April 1893 to replace the deceased Jacob Gates.

[April 8, 1893] At Dedication of Temple forenoon. Afternoon went to C[enterville] & after getting home arranged to meet Sister R[oberts] at Depot.

[April 9, 1893] At Dedication of Temple today — Margaret was with me.

[April 10, 1893] Feeling unwell today. Sent Anet, my wife's [Celia's] sister to her in Colo[rado]. She left on 8 A. M. D. & R. G. train. Foolish — foolish — Oh, so foolish this A. M.! When oh, when will I learn wisdom?¹¹⁵

[April 11 -18 1893] From this date up to 19th continued for the most part I continued to attend the dedication of the Temple services and when not there — which was seldom — was looking after affairs at home — gardening & making preparations for building a porch & erecting wind mill etc.¹¹⁶ <On the 17th (eve[ning]) I lectured in the Assembly Hall.>

[April 19, 1893] Attended priesthood meeting in the Temple this day.¹¹⁷ Present First Presidency, Twelve, First Council of Seventies, Presidents of Stakes — all stakes being represented either by Presidents or one of counsel except one — St. Joseph — and a bishop represented that. There were besides these officers a few invited brethren [including] the presidency of [the] St. George temple etc. The time was occupied by short speeches of the brethren in testimony & in expressing confidence in the First Presidency etc. There was a very heavenly spirit throughout and every one was melted to tears. ~~With a ten minute in~~ Meeting held 3 h[ou]rs in the morning & 5 in the afternoon. All but the Presidency & Twelve spoke.

[April 20, 1893] Meeting assembled at 10 A.M. in the Temple. Same present as at yesterdays meetings. Each of the 12 spoke about 5 minutes. President Woodruff was not able to be present; the meet-

¹¹⁵ This cryptic reference is to Roberts's sister-in-law Laura Antoinette ("Anet") Dibble (1874-1928).

¹¹⁶ Roberts has decided to improve the well at one of his houses. On April 28 he will begin constructing a water tank.

¹¹⁷ This was a "solemn assembly," a meeting held to commemorate sacred occasions such as the dedication of a temple or the sustaining of a new church president.

ing of yesterday had wore him out. Pre[sident]s Cannon & Smith both spoke, both were deeply affected and moved to tears. The former testified that he knew that God lived, and that Jesus was the Christ. The latter he had seen and conversed with [him] as a man talks with his friend. He testified of it in a beautiful humble spirit and the feelings of all were subdued. After this we all, or nearly all, clothed in our priestly robes and repaired to the celestial room where we held a prayer in the order of the priesthood. There were 115 in the circle. Pres. Joseph F. Smith was opening or preliminary pra mo<u>th in prayer, and Pres. Cannon was mouth at the alter. Truly he was inspired in that prayer! During the prayer a Bro. Kelly of Brig[ham] City fainted, either for having the arm raised so long or on account of our fast, for we went to the meeting fasting. After prayer we repaired to the President's room, & there under the direction of Bishop John R. Winder¹¹⁸ tables had been spread, and each man was supplied with a napkin & tumbler. Bread in great quantities was provided & wine. The bread ~~and the wine~~ was blessed by B[isho]p [William] Preston, Presiding Bishop of the Ch[urch], and the wine by Bro. [Robert] Burton¹¹⁹ his counselor. The bread was then broken and passed to the brethren seated at the tables; the wine was passed & each man took so much as he pleased, dipped his bread in it and ate and drank until he was filled. This was the Lord's supper truly — the sacrament, and we ate & drank in memory of Him — our Savior & Redeemer — our advocate with the Father. Every face beamed with happiness, and shone with intelligence. After supper we sang a hymn, conversed at pleasure and told anecdotes principally of the Prophet Joseph: One could have sat — I know not how long, but as all things seem to have an end in this world so did this our meeting. This prayer circle was the first held in the Salt Lake Temple, and the largest held in this dispensation. The sacrament as we partook of it was after the ancient pattern as taught to the Saints by the Prophet Joseph. Truly Our napkin & tumblers were given to us as a memento of the occasion. Truly it was a day to be remembered.

¹¹⁸ As second counselor to Presiding Bishop William Preston, John Rex Winder (1821-1910) was given the responsibility of overseeing the completion of the Salt Lake Temple. He became church president Joseph F. Smith's first counselor on 17 October 1901.

¹¹⁹ Robert Taylor Burton (1821-1907) was a counselor to two Presiding Bishops, Edward Hunter, 1854-83, and William B. Preston, 1884-1907.

[April 21 - 22, 1893] These two days were devoted to the Sunday School children in the Temple. 12000 <of them> passed thro[ugh] the Sacred Edifice. I attended one of the meetings. Had intended to take my children down but my daughter Louisa E. — the only one of the children large enough to go who had not been was taken down with scarlet fever and I did not take any of them.

[April 23, 1893] Temple in the morning — again in afternoon. Took Sister Eardley & Margaret thro[ugh] in afternoon. Centerville in eve[ning] & helped nurse little Lo.

[April 24, 1893] Again at Temple services. This was the last day of the dedication, and of the 63rd annual conference of the Church — the conference having lasted three weeks. It has been a Pentacostal time with me. The Lord has shown to me my inner parts, myself; and there I have found such grained and guarded spots that I have been humbled into sincere repentance. At times I have wondered even how the Lord could tolerate me at all as His servant. Truly it is a manifestation of long suffering & mercy. I am deeply moved with gratitude toward Him for his mercy to me; and now Oh My Father if Thou wilt give me grace, how hard will I try to reform, and cease from all my wrongdoing. Truly Thy Spirit hath humbled me in thy House and from hence forth Oh, may it remain humble. What a flood of light hath been thrown on my past conduct: How sinful it all seems, how careless & unwise have I been! From Henceforth oh, My Father preserve me and keep me by thy power and let thy grace forever keep me [on] this side [of] the line of Thy mercy. The dedication of this temple has not been attended with many great visions or the appearance of angels: but the spirit of the Lord has been there — the Holy ghost and that is greater than the angels! This never appeared so forcibly to me as it did in the temple when <Elder> Lorin C. Farr¹²⁰ was speaking at the afore said Priesthood meeting. I was sitting next to him, and as he spoke he made the remark that the Holy Ghost was a better witness, a greater one than angels. As he spoke it there seemed to flow into my soul a whole flood of light, and I said — mentally — that is true for t̄ of which of

¹²⁰ Lorin C. Farr (1820-1909) was president of Weber stake from 1851 to 1870. After serving a mission to Europe, 1870-1871, Farr returned to Ogden to become mayor and a member of the territorial legislature.

the angels hath God said if men sin against ~~God~~ ^{He} Him, it shall not be forgiven them within this life or in that which is to come? Of none of them hath this been said; but God doth say it of the Holy Ghost (Matt. 12/31, 32)¹²¹ hence ~~it is~~ He must be greater than the angels and a better witness. Yet the Lord hath not left the Saints without other spiritual manifestations. On the morning of the 7th of April — the day following the first day's dedication services President Woodruff announced that it had been revealed to him in the nights visions that the prophet Joseph Smith had gathered together a great host of the departed spirits — among them the prophets and apostles if who had been prominent in this dispensation; together with many of the ancients saints & servants of God, and they had held meetings corresponding with these which we were holding and joined with us in our shouts of hosannas to God & the Lamb, & rejoiced in the completion of the temple.

President Woodruff also declared that from that time forth Satan would have less power with the Saints than he had hitherto had, and less power to injure the work of God. He also prophesied that from hence forth there would be more union & consequently more power with the Saints than they had hitherto experienced.

Again President Woodruff said that in as much as the people would repent and from this time forth forsake their sins[,] God would forgive their sins and blot them out; that they should not be proclaimed to an assembled world. In the Priesthood meeting on the 19th Pres. W[oodruff] said that the sins of those present had been forgiven. To me this is the most precious assurance or blessing of them all. Help me Oh, my Father to attain unto it; and I will serve Thee, forever. How Good & precious are thy gifts Oh My Father! I will try for this blessing. Do Thou O, God, blot out my transgressions and make me strong against evil forever more.

Elder Lorenzo Snow, Pres. of the Twelve Apostles, in calling upon the people to follow him in the shout of Hosannah told those present a number of times, and especially the children to raise their voices to the full limit of their strength in shouting, for some of them would live to raise this shout of Hosannah when the Savior

¹²¹ "Wherefore I say unto you, all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but the blasphemy *against* the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the *world* to come" (Matt. 12:31-32.)

should come in the Glory of his Father to visit the saints. A number of the brethren were filled with the spirit of prophecy & predicted Good concerning Zion & her future. Pres. Joseph F. Smith called upon the brethren never to prophesy evil concerning Zion for if they did their predictions would fail. Eve[ning] at home in Centerville.

[April 25, 1893] Spent day in town, In the eve[ning] went to Ogden to lecture on spiritualism.¹²² Accompanied by Margaret. Good freedom. Met M[atthias] F. Cowley. Large audience tho[ugh] the Trans-Mississippi conference was in session. Several of its members came to the meeting.¹²³ Stayed at Bp. [Moroni] Brown's fathers.¹²⁴

[April 26, 1893] After coming to City on early morning train went to Centerville to see little Lo: found her much improved. Returned to city & prepared lecture for college on Ch[urch] Hist[ory]. Eve[ning] in city.

[April 27, 1893] Lectured on Ch[urch] Hist[ory] at College at 9 A.M. Met with Council at 11 A.M. Went to C[enterville] in afternoon worked rest of day at home.

[April 28, 1893] At home all day putting up platform for tank — city in eve[ning].

[April 29, 1893] By mistaking time of train starting for south missed going to Nephi this A.M. much disappointed & vexed. Posted journal & prepared lectures for college etc. In town all night.

[April 30 1893] Took train & arrived at Nephi [a] few minutes after

¹²² This lecture was not mentioned in any local papers and apparently not recorded.

¹²³ An alliance of government-appointed delegates from western states, the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress was in its infancy but would soon wield real economic influence. This meeting was held a month prior to the opening of the Columbian Exposition (world's fair) in Chicago. In five years, the Trans-Mississippi Congress would host the world's fair in Omaha. See the diary entry for January 19, 1898.

¹²⁴ James M. Brown (1834-1924) was a member of the Weber stake high council. His son, Moroni F. Brown (1857-1897), was bishop of Ogden's First Ward from 1890 until his death.

eleven A.M. Went to meeting house — Sunday school conference in session. Addressed school [for a] few minutes. Met here my friend & Brother Geo[rge] Teasdale. Dinner at Bro. Vickers.¹²⁵ Afternoon occupied time in a discourse on the blessings brought to us by the temple and its dedication. Good liberty for which oh, my Father in heaven I am grateful to thee. Met with presidents of 70's — 49th & 71[st] quorums at the close of meeting & gave them instructions about eve[ning] meeting & inquired as to condition of quorums. Had supper with my old friend & missionary companion Adelbert Cazier. Bro. C[azier] was a very promising young man, but committed adultery. He was my friend however before he was so unfortunate as to sin and I have ever continued to regard him so still. He repented bitterly of his fault, and has been forgiven & received back into the ch[urch], in which I think I had some influence with him in getting him back; for when he was feeling his way back into the church, and the brethren were laying on him what he regarded as hard conditions[,] he wrote me on the subject and I persuaded him to accept them wh[ile] however humiliating they might be. He consented to do so & was restored to his fellowship. But ah, me! tho[ugh] repentance came to him[,] with what deep sorrow does he remember his sin! The Such wounds may heal but the scar remains. Oh, my Father do thou preserve me from that sin, for I am frail too & my hope of preservation is in Thy Grace not my own strength. Met with the seventies & Saints in the eve[ning and] had a pleasant & instructive meeting. Stayed all night at Bro. Cazier's. About 11 P.M. a company of young ladies came and seranayed <seranaded> me. Enjoyed the sweet music, thanked & blessed the singers.

[May 1, 1893] Still continues cold & rainy. Met with <several> Pres[idents] of the two q[uorums] of Seventies in this stake & had a long conversation with them respecting their theological classes etc. Drove in carriage to gypsum mills in the mouth of the canyon above Nephi. Bro. Cazier presented me [a] suit of clothes. Took dinner with Father & stepmother [of] Bro A. Cazier. Pleasant time. Met Elder [George] Teasdale on train & with him rode to Salt Lake,

¹²⁵ Probably John Vickers who lived with his large family in Nephi. Vickers was born in 1822 in South Clifton, England. He married Ann Lacey (1826-1904) in 1847 in England and later married Frances Osborne and Ellen Barton Ray at unknown dates. He died in 1919 in Nephi.

& thence took train for home. Found little Lo still getting better of her fever.

[May 2, 1893] Worked about home in erecting tank platform etc. City in eve[ning].

[May 3, 1893] Delivered lecture on Ch[urch] Hist[ory] in College this morning. Went to Centerville reviewed my labors on improvements etc. Back to City in eve[ning].

[May 4, 1893] Lectured on Ch[urch] Hist[ory] at college this A.M. Good time. Attended Council Meeting; also wrote letters to my family in Col[orado]. Attended to a variety of business etc. at Centerville.

[May 5, 1893] Worked on home improvements ~~all day, and in the eve went to city in order to accom~~ in the morning until 8 A.M. and then went to the city to meet with committee that were examining Dr. [James] Talmadge's¹²⁶ MSS [manuscripts] on a new <national> dictionary. The Dr. has been appointed to edit the definition of all words that have a denominational meaning to us (the Latter Day Saints).¹²⁷ Pres. Joseph F. Smith, Elders F[ranklin] D. Richards Geo[rge] Reynolds & myself have been appointed a committee to pass upon the correctness of his work. This A.M. was seen <the> first meeting of such c[ommittee]. We met at eleven instead of 10, and Pres. Jos[eph] F. [Smith] was absent. At 2 P.M. took motor [for Centerville] and in <for> the <rest of the> afternoon helped my workmen erect the tower of the wind mill p I am putting up. In the

¹²⁶ James E. Talmage (1862-1933) was a prominent educator who served as president of the University of Utah, 1894-97. Already considered a major church theologian, his ordination to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles on 8 December 1911 confirmed his standing as an explicator of church doctrine. His most important works include *The Articles of Faith: A Series of Lectures on the Principal Doctrines of the Church*, *Jesus the Christ: A Study of the Messiah and His Mission*, and *The House of the Lord: A Study of Holy Sanctuaries Ancient and Modern*.

¹²⁷ In his journal, Talmage noted: "First meeting of the Standard Dictionary Committee today. The first point submitted by me was the adoption or rejection of the common usage of the word 'Mormon' in place of Latter-day Saints. In the proofsof the dictionary[,], early pages used the word 'Mormon' and its derivatives are used universally. After mature consideration, the Brethren decided that although the word was really a misnomer, it had been in reality forced upon us and we could not hope to escape its use." See James E. Talmage, *Journals*, 5 May 1893, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

eve[ning] went to the City to be ready to join elder <F[rancis] M.> Lyman in the morning on a trip to Emery Stake conference.¹²⁸ Spent the eve[ning] at Eardley's.

[May 6, 1893] Joined Elder Lyman at breakfast at the Morgan Hotel. Left on the 8 A.M. D. & R. G. train for Price.¹²⁹ On board met Geo[rge] Seaman¹³⁰ & Parley Parrish¹³¹ — the latter of Centerville — enroute for England on a mission. Time <spent> in conversation with Lyman & missionaries. [A]rrived Price about 1 in the afternoon. After lunch laid down & slept till 7. Took walk in eve[ning,] secret prayer on a mountain adjacent.¹³²

[May 7, 1893] Conference this A.M. at 10. House crowded. First visit to stake. <Elder> Lyman occupied forenoon. Good attendance in afternoon. I occupied time. A Bro. incidentally remarked to Elder L[ym]an that he (L) had spoken on the rights of the people priesthood [and] he would like to hear what were the rights of the people. I replied that they had the right to do right; But I took the subject for my text & spoke on the rights of freedom of the people in the c[hurc]h. After meeting met with [the] Pres[idency] of the 101[st] q[uorum] of 70's. Enquired into condition of q[uorums] etc. Learned that the Sen[ior] President [Lars] Olson¹³³ was very careless & indifferent to the interest of the q[uorum] — ~~Had in~~ The q[uorum] had not held meeting all winter. Instructed the rest of the pres[idents] that they were not justified in neglecting q[uorum] be-

¹²⁸ Emery County, east of Sanpete County, would be divided in 1894 to create Carbon County to the north.

¹²⁹ Price is about 100 miles southeast from Salt Lake City.

¹³⁰ Twenty-three-year-old George Alexander Seaman was born in 1870 in Richville, Utah. He was set apart for his mission on 28 April 1893 by Apostle Heber J. Grant and married Charlotte Jeannette Fox (1873-1952) three years later in 1896 in Salt Lake City. He served in the U. S. Army from 1898 to 1900, served as bishop of the Abraham (Millard County) ward from 1900 to 1902, and was a counselor in the Millard stake presidency from 1902 to 1907. He died in 1955 in Ogden, Utah.

¹³¹ Twenty-four-year-old Parley Pratt Parrish was born in 1869 in Centerville, Utah. He was set apart for his mission on 28 April 1893 by Apostle George Teasdale. Parrish married Mary Pamela Willey (1873-?) in 1898 and Elizabeth Ann Collings (1876-1974) in 1905 and died in 1949 in Salt Lake City.

¹³² Roberts refers to Wood Hill north of town.

¹³³ Probably Laurentius (Lars) Magnus Olofsson (Olson) was born in 1851 in Arvika, Sweden. He married Birdie Pauline Olsen (1866-1951) in 1891 in Salt Lake City and died in 1919 in Ephraim, Utah.

cause he did, and called upon them to take hold of matters & push ahead. They covenanted to do so. Priesthood meeting in eve[ning] which Bro. L[yman] turned over to me to talk to 70's. Instructed them in special duties etc. announced privilege of aged 70s going to H[igh] P[riests] q[uorum]. At the conclusion Bro. [William] Burgess Sen[ior],¹³⁴ Pres[ident] of 81st q[uorum,] was ordained High priest by Bro. L[yman]. Ordained Eugene Branch¹³⁵ a Pres. in Council of 101st q[uorum] of 70s[,] myself being mouth. Also ordained Jos[eph] Draper¹³⁶ (L[yman] mouth) & Edgar Tha[y]ne¹³⁷ (self mouth) members of 101st q[uorum].

[May 8, 1893] Long talk with Elder L[yman] while in bed on a variety of subjects especially about men getting something in the way of their advancement etc. Reference was made to [the] Stayner Bros.¹³⁸ & B[ishop]p. Whitney.¹³⁹ I called upon Pres. Olson this morning informed him of feeling of fellow pres[idents] towards him & what we had done in the q[uorum] etc. He detailed to me his difficulties with [the] B[ishop's] Counsellor Bro. [Erastus] McIntire.¹⁴⁰ The latter had assaulted him & O[Olson] had prosecuted him at the

¹³⁴ William Burgess was born in 1822 in Putnam, New York. He married Mariah Pulsipher (1822-92) in 1840 in Adams County, Illinois, and married two women in Utah: Charlotte Elizabeth Liggett (1837-1909) in 1852 and Katherine Chamberlain (1839-1916) in 1858. Burgess died in 1904 in Huntington, Utah.

¹³⁵ Eugene Elisha Branch Jr. was born in 1877 in St. George, Utah. He married Agnes Winifred Liddell (1878-1958) in 1900 in St. George and died in 1952 in Wellington, Utah.

¹³⁶ Joseph Draper was born in 1850 in England. He first married Maria Nilsson (1861-1939) and later Esther Silcock (1854-1930) in 1873 in Salt Lake City. Draper died in 1827 in Talmage, Utah.

¹³⁷ Edgar Hunt Thayne was born in 1869 in Salt Lake City. He married Martha Jane Smith (1869-1952) in 1893 in Beaver, Utah; served a mission to Australia, 1899-1901; and was bishop of the Wellington ward, 1907-1910. He died in 1956 in Salt Lake City.

¹³⁸ Roberts refers to English converts Arthur Stayner (1835-99), a businessman and member of the Farmington ward bishopric, and Charles Stayner (1840-99), a lawyer and president of the Northern States mission, 1890-93, as well as an active member of the Democratic party.

¹³⁹ Orson F. Whitney (1855-1931) served as bishop of Salt Lake City's Eighteenth Ward from 1878 until he was ordained an apostle on 9 April 1906. He was a prominent writer and poet.

¹⁴⁰ Erastus William McIntire was born in 1839 in Strongstown, Pennsylvania. He married Anna Perkins (1840-71) in 1865 and Anna Birch (1852-1935) in 1874, the latter in Salt Lake City. He was a counselor in the Emery stake presidency, 1881-1885 and 1887-1896. He died in 1902 in Price.

law [and] got judgement of court for \$50 which Mc[Intire] could not pay etc. etc. B[isho]p was also wrong in his judgement. I exhorted him to put these things aside etc. attend to duties. He could not bring himself to consent but was much affected in his feelings. Conference convened at 10 A.M. Both Elder L[yman] & self spoke. In afternoon adjourned con[ference] & drove seven m[iles] to Spring Glen¹⁴¹ where we organized ward, making Edwin Ful[l]mer B[isho]p.¹⁴² Bro [Herbert] Savage¹⁴³ & [Teancum] Pratt¹⁴⁴ his counsellors. Some opposition to Bro. P[ratt,] but it was overcome & action of ward made unanimous. Drove 5 mi[les] to Castle Gate.¹⁴⁵ Organized a ward there making W. T. Lamph¹⁴⁶ B[isho]p. Had pleasant meeting at which I did principal speaking. To late we ministered to a lad who was hurt in his bowels.

[May 9, 1893] Took 5-48 train (A.M.) for Salt Lake. Learned fr[om] Denver papers that Jos[eph] L. Rawlins¹⁴⁷ Utah's delegate to Congress had resigned. At Provo parted co[mpany] with Elder L[yman,] he stopping [at] P[rovo,] I going on to city. Found note on

¹⁴¹ Spring Glen is a few miles northwest of Price, midway between Price and Castle Gate.

¹⁴² Edwin Fullmer was born in 1860 in Provo. He married Ada Maria Mendenhall (1862-1950) in 1884 in Springville, Utah, and was bishop of the Spring Glen ward from 1893 to 1899. He died in 1940 in La Grande, Oregon.

¹⁴³ Herbert Savage was born in 1855 in Stavely, England. He married Rebecca Jane Miller (1858-1934) in 1876 in Salt Lake City and died there in 1934.

¹⁴⁴ Teancum Pratt was born in 1851 in Salt Lake City to Apostle Parley P. and Sarah Houston Pratt. He married Anna Eliza Mead (1855-1937) in 1872 and Sarah Elizabeth Ewell (1860-1926) in 1875. An early settler in Carbon County, Pratt died in a mine accident in 1900 in Scofield, Utah.

¹⁴⁵ Castle Gate was a small coal mining community north of Price, made famous by Butch Cassidy and his gang in 1897 when they stole the company payroll there. In 1924 a mine explosion in Castle Gate killed 171 workers.

¹⁴⁶ William Topping Lamph was born in 1854 in England. He married Jennie Chinick Bennett (1863-1936) in 1884 in Winter Quarters, Emery County (later Carbon County), Utah. He served as bishop of the Castle Dale ward from 1893 to 1899. He died in 1938 in Cleveland, Utah.

¹⁴⁷ Joseph L. Rawlins was born in 1850 in Millcreek, Utah, and married Julia Davis (1851-1946) in 1876. An early supporter of the Democratic party, Rawlins served one term as Utah Territory's delegate to Congress. Contrary to Roberts's assertion, Rawlins did not resign his position but was defeated in a re-election bid. While serving in Congress, Rawlins introduced the Enabling Act which led to statehood for Utah in 1896. That year, he became one of Utah's senators, serving from 1897 to 1903. After his term in the senate, Rawlins returned to private life where he was active in legal and civic affairs. He died in 1926 in Salt Lake City.

desk that our committee on Bro. Talmadge's work was holding meeting at Pres[ident's] Office & that I was wanted. Went. Met Pres. Cannon who informed me that Pres. Woodruff & Moses Thatcher both improving. Met with [Standard Dictionary] committee.¹⁴⁸ Attended variety of business. Wrote letters, made notes for lectures etc.

[May 10, 1893] Lectured this morning at the college, after which went to Centerville on motor — arrived at noon. Spent afternoon in gardening etc. Returned to city in eve[ning] and attended lecture on Spiritualism in Theatre. A miserable affair & failure both as exhibition of Spiritualism and of legerdemain.¹⁴⁹

[May 11, 1893] Lectured at the College in the morning. Council meeting at eleven. Five of the council present. John Morgan & [J. Golden] Kimball absent. Routine business. Appointed to attend Sanpete Conference Saturday & Sunday next. Returned to Centerville in the afternoon & worked on my improvements that I am making. Eve[ning] at H[enry] Ramptons.

[May 12, 1893] Worked all day about home in the garden & on improvements. Night found me worn out & tired. Went to City on eve[ning] train to be ready to take train in A.M. for Sanpete [County]. Retired early.

[May 13, 1893] Thank God for a glorious nights rest. Took <early morning> train for Manti. Enroute read Paine's theological works.¹⁵⁰ He is the cursed of all infidels and I am reading to refute his argu-

¹⁴⁸ Talmage records that during the morning "there was a long session of the Dictionary Committee" (James E. Talmage, Journals, 9 May 1893).

¹⁴⁹ The local press shared Roberts's view of "Mrs. Slawson, California's favorite test medium," and her self-described "inspirational" lecture titled "Spiritualism Proved." The *Deseret News* called her performance a "rambling talk" and stated that she should "have been considerably embarrassed" by the way her efforts were received "by some humorously inclined people in the audience." The *Tribune* said the "empty benches at the Salt Lake Theater demonstrated that the "public mind is not one seething mass of curiosity regarding Spiritualism" and that Slawson "failed completely," calling the performance "from beginning to end ... laughable, where it was not disgusting in its crudity. One can stomach a clever imposter, but not a bungler" (*Deseret News*, 11 May 1893; *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 May 1893).

¹⁵⁰ Thomas Paine (1737-1809), the writer and polemicist of the Revolutionary War.

ments against the Scriptures. Arrived at Manti 3 P.M. Bro. Metcalf¹⁵¹ who keeps the Temple house met me at the depot and drove me to the meeting house [where the Sanpete stake conference was in session]. Bro. J T D McAlister¹⁵² was speaking. Bro. Had pleasant meeting with Bro. [Anthon] Lund, one of the Twelve. I occupied part of the time. Became the guest of Bishop [William] Reid.¹⁵³ Priesthood meeting in the eve[ning,] Pres. [Canute] Peterson, Bro. [John] Maiben & self occupied time.

[May 14, 1893] Splendid n[igh]ts rest. Glorious morning. Thank God for life & all its blessings. Help me this day oh, My Father, in my ministry and the Glory shall all be thine. Bro. Cyrus Wheelock & Elder Lund occupied the morning session of the conference. The former spoke on <his> recollections of the prophet. Among the things that were new to me[,] Bro. W[heelock] said that when Joseph & his little company of friends talked of returning fr[om] Montrose[, Missouri,] to Nauvoo[, Illinois,] in answer to the solicitations of his friends & his wife, the prophet desired his brother Hyrum not to return. Whereupon Hyrum laid his hand upon Joseph's shoulder and said: "I swear by the mighty God of Jacob that where thou goest I will go, and where thou diest there will I die." Joseph responded "Amen" and said "now let us go back." He also said that enroute for Carthage when they met the governor's forces going to Nauvoo to collect the state arms, near what was known as the big mound, Joseph said, "I am going like a lamb to the slaughter, but I have a conscience void of offense towards God & towards all men. I shall die innocent & it shall yet be said of me, he was murdered in cold blood." Elder Lund's remarks were on work for the

¹⁵¹ Roberts probably refers to John Edward Metcalf who was born in 1839 in Hull, England. He married Mary Keziah Bartholomew (1847-1937) in 1865 and Maria Catharina Dahling (1857-1936) in 1886 and died in 1908 in Manti, Utah.

¹⁵² John Daniel Thompson ("JDT") McAllister had been president of the St. George stake, president of the St. George temple, and one of Brigham Young's scribes when the temple ceremonies were put to paper. McAllister was born in 1827 in Delaware, served a mission to England in the 1850s, fought in the Utah War, and wrote the song, "Ye Saints Who Dwell on Europe's Shores." He died in 1910.

¹⁵³ William Taylor Reid was born in 1830 in Ireland. He married Jane McEwan (1833-1913) in 1848 in Edinburgh, Scotland, and Mary Adelaide Cox (1848-1908) in 1869 in Salt Lake City. He was politically active in Sanpete County, served as president of the Manti Co-op, and was bishop of the Manti ward from 1877 until his death in 1904.

dead. In the afternoon I occupied the time on union, reading as an introduction [the] 17[th] ch[apter] of St. John.¹⁵⁴ In the eve[ning] went to Ephraim and held meeting and delivered a discourse on New B[ook] of M[ormon] as new witness. After meeting accompanied several brethren to administer to a sister Anderson. Retired late & so wrought up in spirit that I was long going to sleep.

[May 15, 1893] Rose late. Glorious morning, & am not much refreshed by nights sleep — several unpleasant dreams. Wrote in journal on 1892 record. Just across the way fr[om] the house where I was stopping[,] two young ladies sang several sweet but sad songs that had the effect of arousing all the melancholy of my soul & I was made unaccountably sad by it. “I am never merry when I hear sweet music.”¹⁵⁵ At 12-20 took train for Salt Lake on board was Edward Cliff, an Elder who used to visit my parent’s home in England between ’61 & ’62. We talked of my father whom he knew. Parted from Bro. C[liff] at Mt. Pleasant. Further up the road Elder Geo[rge] Teasdale boarded the train. Spent day reading Paine’s theological works. His writings are blasphemous and I only read them that I may refute them, in some future writing. Spent the eve[ning] with Madge.¹⁵⁶ Her cheerfulness and happy disposition makes me forget my sadness.

[May 16, 1893] Went home to Centerville and spent the day at work on <the> improvements am making about home. Pleasant day with wife Louisa & children. Eve[ning] at home.

[May 17, 1893] Took motor to City this A.M., and delivered lecture at College on Ch[urch] Hist[ory]. Returned to Centerville & worked on [home] improvements.

[May 18, 1893] Went to City this morning, lectured at the college on Ch[urch] Hist[ory]. Transacted [a] variety of business. At Met Madge on the street raident with happiness. At 11 A.M. Council meeting at 70’s room in the Temple. Pleasant meeting. The question of publishing a 70’s organ came up and myself & Elder

¹⁵⁴ Roberts probably stressed verse 3: “And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou has sent” (John 17:3.)

¹⁵⁵ Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, Act V, Sc. 1.

¹⁵⁶ Roberts referred to his wife Margaret by this nickname.

Geo[rge] Reynolds were ap[point]ed to draft letter setting forth its necessity & advantages of such a periodical. Eve[ning] in City. Madge disconsolate. Was ap[point]ed to attend Millard Stake Conference.¹⁵⁷

[May 19, 1893] Took train for Centerville at 10. Walter Lyman¹⁵⁸ going with me to fix tank, mill etc. Spent the day working with him. In afternoon returned to City in order to be ready for morning start for Millard.

[May 20, 1893] Took train for Deseret in Millard [County]. Andrew Jensen¹⁵⁹ was aboard going south to hunt up historical datta of for C[hurch] hist[ory]. Arrived at Deseret 3-30 P.M. Secured conveyance and drove to Hinckley Ward¹⁶⁰ & put up with Bp. [William] Pratt.¹⁶¹ Met there Pres. [Ira] Hinckley¹⁶² of Millard stake & one of his counsellors.

[May 21, 1893] It rained during the n[igh]t, but is a beautiful day. Meeting at 10 A.M. Pres. Hinckley & several B[isho]ps reported. Andrew Jensen occupied the time. Meeting 2 P.M. Sacrament[,] & I occupied the time. In the eve[ning] there was a priesthood meet-

¹⁵⁷ Organized in 1877 in Millard County where Fillmore, the 1851-1856 territorial capitol, is the principle city. Fillmore is about fifty miles south of Nephi.

¹⁵⁸ Walter Clisbee Lyman was born in 1864 in Fillmore. He married three women in Utah: Sylvia Ann Lovell (1867-89) in 1883, Elizabeth Finlinson (1867-1916) in 1891, and Leah Larene Brown (1896-1970) in 1929; and he married Lucy Halls (1879-1922) in 1904 in Canada. He served as a missionary to the Northern States Mission, 1899 to 1900, and as president of that mission in 1901-1902. He was president of the San Juan stake from 1902 to 1911 and died in 1943 in Moab, Utah.

¹⁵⁹ Andrew Jensen was born in Denmark in 1850. In Utah he married Kirsten Marie Pedersen (1859-87) in 1875, Emma Howell (1862-1937) in 1886, and her sister Bertha Howell (1866-1945) in 1888. He held the hierarchical position of official LDS Church Historian. He died in Salt Lake City in 1941. Roberts consistently misspelled Jensen's last name.

¹⁶⁰ Organized in 1891, the ward was named for stake president Ira N. Hinckley.

¹⁶¹ William Halbert Pratt was born in 1844 in Tishimingo, Mississippi, to Jonathan B. and Susannah Halbert Pratt. He married Ann Elizabeth Burgess (1843-1917) in Dalton, Washington, and served as bishop of the Deseret (later Hinckley) ward in Millard County from 1891 until his death there in 1902.

¹⁶² Ira Nathaniel Hinckley was born in 1828 in Canada. He married Eliza Jane Evans (1827-50) in 1848 in Missouri, then married Adelaide Cameron Noble (1833-1924) in 1853, her sister Angeline Noble (1831-1912) in 1855, and Margaret Harley (1859-1940) in 1884, all in Salt Lake City. He was Millard stake president from 1877 until 1902 and died in 1904 in Provo.

ing[.] Bro. Jensen & myself occupied the time. The ... order, authority & spirit of the priesthood were the subject.

[May 22, 1893] Beautiful day. Meeting at 10 A.M. B[isho]ps reports & speaking by counsellors to Pres. Hinckley & [John Smith] Patriarch of Church.¹⁶³ After meeting held a meeting with 70's quorums — the 21st & 42nd q[uorums are] located in this stake. One Pres. of the 42nd, [presidents] of the 21st and a number of members & spectators. Gave general instructions & arranged for a conference of the quorums to be held 3 months hence on the day preceding the next quarterly conference of this stake w[hic]h is to be held at Holden.¹⁶⁴ Afternoon authorities presented. I occupied the time in discourse on Ch[urch] Government & recent blessings in the temple. Good liberty for which I gave honor & glory to God. Bade fare well to Pres. Hinckley in the eve[ning]: & spent the n[igh]t at Bp. Pratt's in company with Bro. [Christian] Anderson¹⁶⁵ — Stake Clerk.

[May 23, 1893] Today the Salt Lake Temple is opened for commencement of work. Glorious day that is beautiful. Am to start on return home. Take leave of Bp. Pratt — he is not of the family of Pratt made famous by the Apostles Parley & Orson Pratt — and other brethren of this stake & return to Salt Lake. Ran up to the office. Rec[eived] & answered a letter from Lena (Celia); & took train for Centerville where I found my family all well.

[May 24, 1893] Worked about home in the morning, came to Salt Lake on eight A.M. motor. Delivered lecture in college & returned to Centerville, worked about home rest of day.

[May 25, 1893] Went to Salt Lake on eight A.M. motor. Lectured on Ch[urch] Hist[ory] at College. Drew \$600 of on Ja[me]s Jack¹⁶⁶ —

¹⁶³ John Smith (1832-1911) was ordained Patriarch to the Church on 18 February 1855.

¹⁶⁴ Holden is a few miles north of Fillmore.

¹⁶⁵ Christian Anderson was born in 1840 in Denmark. In Utah he married Rasmie Rasmussen (1821-92) in 1863, Anna Kirstine Beauregard (1856-77) in 1875, Anna Dorthea Christiansen (1851-1938) in 1878, and Hannah Katrina Christiansen (1860-1929) in 1878. Anderson served a term for adultery in the Utah territorial prison in 1891-1892. He was bishop of the Fillmore ward from 1901 to 1906. He died in 1923 in Fillmore.

¹⁶⁶ James Jack (1829-1911) was a clerk in the First Presidency's office.

the amount appropriated to me by Presidency. Attended [to a] variety of business. Taking up notes at tithing office amounting to \$145.00. Banked Money. Met with Council at Temple room at 11 o'clock[.] Young, Reynolds, Wells & self present, aggra agreeable time. Made partial rep[or]t on publishing "The Seventy," etc & read draft of letter had been ap[point]ed to write to L. M. Olson of Price. Approved. In afternoon went to Logan to be present at [the] Commencement Exercises of B[righam] Y[oung] College tomorrow, on which occasion I am to address graduates. Met at depot by Prof. [J. H.] Paul.¹⁶⁷ Stopped at [the] Palace hotel¹⁶⁸ in order to be alone with thoughts. Seranaded by Sagebrush Glee Club – "Good N[igh]t."

[May 26, 1893] Attended Commencement Exercises at 10 A.M. Very creditable affair. ~~After it was over~~ My speech was a great failure – had no liberty, much confused and suffer intensely on account of it. Felt as if I never wanted to speak again. Why is it I suffer so much on this account? Truly I know, Father, that without thy aid I am nothing, it cannot be that I am so often left to myself in order to teach me a lesson I already so well know! Met Bp. [Henry] Ballard¹⁶⁹ on st[reet]. Had some talk about political liberty in the Church etc. Called on Moses Thatcher in the afternoon. He had been in attendance at the commencement exercises & I had caught a glimpse of him. How glad I was to look up on <one> whom I feared was going to pass fr[om] among us. He was much better than I expected to find him. I spent a pleasant afternoon with him. Talked of our being called before brethren and the difficulties explained away. He remarked that while he had become reconciled <& united> with brethren he had preserved his honor. I described

¹⁶⁷ Paul was then a faculty member at Utah Agricultural College. He served as president of the school from 1894 to 1896.

¹⁶⁸ The Palace Hotel was located at 79 West Center Street. A Palace Hotel Cafe was located next door.

¹⁶⁹ Henry Ballard was born in 1832 in England. In Utah he married Elizabeth May (1830-52) at an unknown date, Eliza Ann Atkinson (1822-84) in 1855, Margaret Reid McNeil (1846-1918) in 1861, and Margaret's sister Emily Reid McNeil (1849-1903) in 1867. Ballard knew Roberts when Ballard was a missionary in England and president of the London Conference in the 1880s. Ballard served a term in the Utah territorial prison in 1889 and paid a fine of \$38.50. He was bishop of the Logan Second Ward from 1861 to 1900 and Cache stake patriarch from 1900 until his death in 1908 in Logan.

my conversation with brethren. He asked me if I hear[d] it said in the Temple that the brethren said the Apostles were united except one. I told him I heard no such thing but that I did hear the brethren say that the unity was complete & they rejoiced in it & so did I and prayed that it might never be broken. Spent the rest of the afternoon at My London friend's the Sisters Scholes.¹⁷⁰ Banquet at 8 P.M. opened with prayer. After ~~ball~~ banquet ball. Did not take part. During eve[ning] Prof. Paul told me that when word came that Delegate Rawlins had resigned, the determination was formed in the north to nominate me for the office. I told him that the idea was absurd. I did not have the franchise even. I lost it by serving a term in the Penitentiary rather than to cast off my wife etc. He said that had all been considered and the determination formed in the face of it. He was of the opinion that all difficulties could be crowded down and my election made <practically> unanimous in the Territory. The crisis however was now happily over since Mr. Rawlins had reconsidered his resignation & there was no vacancy. <The> Prof. remarked that there would be the need of a congressman 2 years hence & asked me to consider the propriety of my becoming a candidate, as all the leaders in the north desired it and it would take all through the country. I told him that I did not look upon myself as having any political future & that to my thinking the difficulties in the way of it were insurmountable. He thought not & remarked that it was thought my abilities eminently qualified me for the place & the state would need my services in that capacities. My Father in heaven, I have never sought to guide my own destiny, I have trusted in Thee to shape all my ends. I still trust in thee. Whatever my destiny may be, whatever work it may be — fr[om] working on the frontier to redeem the desert, to preaching the gospel without purse & scrip, a stranger among men — I am thine. Lead thou the way, and on my path let thy light Divine shine. I seek not thy <my> glory but

¹⁷⁰ Roberts refers to Hannah Britten Scholes (1832-?) and her daughter Marion E. Scholes (1865-98) who were living in Logan at the time. Both were English converts and, according to the *Deseret News*, known among the missionaries to Great Britain, 1883-91, for their "faithfulness and kindly consideration." Marion was teaching school in Logan but moved to Nephi, Utah, in 1895 to care for the children of Apostle George Teasdale. She married Teasdale in 1897 off the coast of southern California. She died in childbirth in 1898 in Nephi. See the *Deseret News*, 24 December 1898; B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 223-25.

thine; and hope above all to win thy friendship and fill my mission in truth and honor. My hand in thine Father — lead the way — I will trust in Thee. Only one thing do I crave of Thee: open the way that I may provide for my loved ones — homes & comforts. Whatever hardships I may have to bear — whatever of poverty, cold & hunger, Oh may they never have to share it! but be free fr[om] it all & I will praise Thee forever.

[May 27, 1893] Returned to ~~City~~ Centerville — thence to City. Called at Co-op Wagon & Machine Co's¹⁷¹ told them of break in wind mill. Met Mr. [William] Glassman¹⁷² manager of Ogden Standard [who] wanted me to make [the] Standard [a] proposition to sell 1 or 2 thousand copies of Ecc[lesiastical] Hist[ory] for gift b[oo]k. Offered 1000 for \$.90 per vol., 2[000] for 87½ [cents]. Detained me over n[igh]t in City.

[May 28, 1893] Took train for Logan. Met F[rank] J. Cannon on his way to Logan with two striking miners from Eureka to hold a conference with Moses Thatcher[,] President of Bullion Beck Mining Co. Arrived Logan 2-15. Driven to meetinghouse. Met Elder Thatcher at Gate. I occupied [the] time on Blessings of the Saints in the Temple Dedication etc. Excused self fr[om] invitation to take dinner with [my] London friends in order to be present at interview between miners & Thatcher. Listened to the conversation. The miners were much discomforted by the very plain talk of Moses. I could see the difference better than ever before between trained intellect and stupidity. One of the characters present was a leader in the U~~n~~ Miners Union & had urged the men on to strike etc and when [he] harangued the men was well enough, but when face to face with one who punctured his sophistries he was helpless. It must not be thought from these remarks that I am not friendly to

¹⁷¹ The Co-op Wagon and Machine Co. was a significant late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Utah business. Among its officers were Apostles Heber J. Grant and Joseph F. Smith and businessman George T. Odell.

¹⁷² William Glassman was born in 1898 in Davenport, Iowa. He came west in 1878, first to Montana, then two years later to Utah. He was active in politics as a Republican, serving in the Utah legislature in 1900; as mayor of Ogden, 1902-1905 and 1910-1911; and as a candidate for Congress in 1906. He bolted from the Republicans in 1912 to join the Progressive party of Theodore Roosevelt, but returned to the Republican party in 1914. He was named editor of the *Ogden Standard* newspaper in 1892 and served in that position until his death in 1916.

the cause of the working man. His side is my side. I am a working man myself & would champion his cause rather than that of capital for my sympathies all go out to him; but in this case the men seem to have been wrong and because the mine owners could not pay \$3 per day [they] refused to take \$2.50 — a most insane course to take. They had acted rashly as ignorance always does when coached by demagogues. Frank J. Cannon will try to make political capital ~~too~~ out of this, managing this interview. I am resolved to make the labor question a matter of closer study than ever before. The conflict now on between capital & labor is the one wh[ich] is bound to overshadow all others: The relentless grasping & oppression of capital; the ~~bloodless~~ ignorance & rashness of labor coupled with his <its> strength when organized are the forces that will most likely bring to pass the next great revolution. At 7 P.M. Elder John ~~Carlyl~~ Carlisle¹⁷³ called with his carriage with <for> me & I had pleasant drive. Lectured on Spiritualism at eight.¹⁷⁴ Had fair liberty, for which Oh, my father I thank thee. Stayed all n[igh]t at Elder Thatcher's. He was setting up for me when I got in; he was too weak to attend the lecture. Had luncheon together.

[May 29, 1893] On the train this A.M. was Jos[eph] F. Smith. Pleasant conversation with him on variety of subjects, among other things talked on how Cain's seed was preserved thro[ugh] Flood etc. He had heard that [the] prophet Joseph Smith had said that Hams wife (she had some of the blood of Cain in her ~~vain~~ veins) had committed adultery, and the adulterous child was born during or after the flood & was the ~~Canaan~~ Canaan whom Noah cursed as the servant of servants. His father was a descendant of Cain who became Satan's ruler because he possessed a body & therefore had more power than Lucifer. Attended [to] a variety of business. Some time ago I rec[eived a] letter fr[om the] First Presidency asking me to prepare an article for Sister [Emily S.] Richards to read at Worlds Fair Chicago in September at Woman's Religious Auxiliary

¹⁷³ A fellow missionary from the southern states.

¹⁷⁴ According to the newspaper, Roberts had the "undivided attention" of an audience "surpassed in size only by the attendance at the [recent] stake conference." In his ninety-minute speech, Roberts said that while communication between "the living and dead" had existed since the beginning of time, only "by diligent search and prayer unto God" could a proper "method of communication with those who have gone before" be achieved. See the *Logan Journal*, 31 May 1893.

Conference¹⁷⁵ – I worked on this p[ar]t of day. Went [to] Center-ville in Eve[n]ing] – delightful time with the children & Louisa.

[May 30, 1893] Decoration Day.¹⁷⁶ Spent forenoon at variety of work in garden and took children for a ride etc. Took noon train for City. Worked on lectures, letters, etc.

[May 31, 1893] Delivered lecture at College – not much liberty. Wrote letter to Presidency on subject of publishing magazine which I had John [Whittaker] copy off on type writer. Wrote up journal & wrote some on [Emily] Richards paper.

[June 1, 1893] Delivered last lecture on Ch[urch] Hist[ory] this morning, bringing subject down to Kirtland[, Ohio]. Have found the course of 12 lectures much too brief for the great theme.¹⁷⁷ For synopsis see scrap b[oo]k. This morning submitted letter prepared on publishing Seventy magazine. It was accepted by Council & ordered to be sent to <First> Pres[idency]. (Clothed in robes of priesthood & had prayers this A.M. in Temple). Discussed price of magazine etc. After w[hic]h Elder [J. Golden] Kimball & self at request of Council went to south Bountiful to attend [the] funeral of W[il]liam Page.¹⁷⁸ He is a man I remember from my early youth. The funeral services were largely attended. Several old neighbors testified of his worth as a man, a husband, father, friend, neighbor, and Latter day Saint. I followed in a discourse based on the Oath & covenant of the Priesthood. Bro. Kimball was called away by a telephone message asking if he knew ought of circumstance of mob attacking Elders in Alabama, a dispatch concerning wh[ic]h had

¹⁷⁵ For information on this important event, see Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 139-40; and E. A. McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Lithographing Co., 1894).

¹⁷⁶ Memorial Day.

¹⁷⁷ Roberts foreshadows his work on church history that culminated in his two major works: *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, a seven-volume documentary study completed between 1902 and 1912, and a six-volume narrative history, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, completed in 1915 but not published until the centennial year of 1930.

¹⁷⁸ William Page was born in 1838 in England. He married Mary Ann Clark (1841-1925) in 1863 in Bountiful, Utah. As Roberts notes, Page died in 1893 in Bountiful.

come to the News. Bro K[imball] thought it was the same case as reported to him fr[om the] Chattanooga office by letter a few days ago. The message deprived him of privilege of speaking. Then drove in to Centerville; & then returned to City. Found Co-op Wagon & Machine Co. had sent Walter Lyman to fix new head on my wind mill. Seems much better than first.

[June 2, 1893] My Daughter Adah graduated fr[om] the Common School today I was at the exercises & spoke. ~~In Salt Lake worked on Richards' article~~ After the meeting with school children, went to P[errigine] G. Sessions¹⁷⁹ and at request of family Dedicated him to the Lord that his suffering might cease. He died next A.M. about 9 A.M. Went on into City in the eve[ning].

[June 3, 1893] Took early motor for home. Bro. & sister [Thomas] Howells on board. Rode part way home with them, then met Adah, who was a little late, with carriage. Rode home with her. All well. Attended Davis Stake Conference, self & Bro. <Andrew> Jensen from Ch[urch] Hist[orian's] Office only visitors present. Same B[isho]ps spoke, rest of time occupied by Elder Jensen. Bro. [John] Barnes¹⁸⁰ of Kaysville, Bp. [Peter] Barton,¹⁸¹ [William] Wallace Willey¹⁸² & others took dinner with me. Afternoon attend[ed] conference again. Bro. Joel Parrish,¹⁸³ Pres. [of the] High Priests [quorum of

¹⁷⁹ Perrigine Sessions (1814-93) came to Utah in 1847 and founded a community on the site of present-day Bountiful.

¹⁸⁰ John Richard Barnes was born in 1833 in England. He married Emily Shelton (1835-75) in 1853, Elizabeth Geaves (1836-?) in 1865, and Emily Stewart (1846-?) in 1869, all in England. In Davis County, he was active in church, politics, and business, and was bishop of the Kaysville ward from 1877 to 1907. In 1888 he was confined to the Utah territorial prison and fined \$300 for unlawful cohabitation. Along with Roberts, he was a member of the Utah Constitutional Convention in 1895. Barnes died in 1919 in Kaysville.

¹⁸¹ Peter Barton was born in 1845 in St. Helens, England. He married Ellen Ann Beazer (1852-1918) in 1870 and Mary Elizabeth Beesley (1859-1935) in 1878, both in Salt Lake City. He was bishop of the Kaysville ward from 1877 to 1907, during which time, in 1889, he served a five-month term in the Utah territorial prison for adultery. Barton died in 1912 in Salt Lake City.

¹⁸² William Wallace Willey was born in 1841 near Warsaw, Illinois. He married Nancy Jane Tolman (1848-1925) in 1862 and Martha Jane Tuttle (1854-1949) in 1870, both in Salt Lake City, where he died in 1915.

¹⁸³ Joel Parrish was born in 1827 in Canada to Samuel and Frances Dack Parrish. He married Elizabeth Bratton (1838-1925) in 1854, Emma Ford (1849-88) in 1867, and Mary Lindsay (1831-?) in 1886, all in Salt Lake City. He died in 1904 in Centerville.

the] Davis stake & self occupied time. My subject propriety of the Saints depending on local brethren & Stake officers to make conferences interesting. Should support same with faith — time will come when the work will be so extensive that Apostles will rarely be seen at Stake conferences. Art of presiding not in doing everything one's self but in using others to do it etc — Recent blessings of Temple — warnings etc. Spent eve[ning with the] folks at home.

[June 4, 1893] Conference continued. Elders F[ranklin] D. Richards and A[braham] H. Cannon of the Twelve were present; also elders [Seymour] Young & [George] Reynolds of the First Council of Seventies. Elders Young & Reynolds spoke, the latter especially well. Elder Cannon followed in a very pleasing discourse on patience with & forgiveness for, the wayward. Large company at my house to dinner. Elder Richards spoke in P.M. Between meetings held Seventies Meeting, at wh[ich I] gave instructions to Pres[idents] about looking after delinquent members. Richard Sedgwick¹⁸⁴ ordained a Pres. in 70th quorum (Pres S. B. Young mouth). N[athan] T. Porter Jr.¹⁸⁵ ordained member same quorum, I was mouth. His father ordained me into the 19th q[uorum] sixteen years ago. We ordained also W. H. Streeper¹⁸⁶ into same q[uorum,] elder Geo. Reynolds mouth.

[June 5 - 7, 1893] Was about home and in town during these 3 days attending to variety of business, among them at preparing article for religious congress in Sept[ember] at World's fair.

[June 8, 1893] Called at Sister Sarah E. Foxes¹⁸⁷ this morning and

¹⁸⁴ Richard Sedgwick was born in 1849 in Barnsley, England. He married Mary Emma Hall (1844-1916) in 1868 in Brooklyn, New York, and died in 1935 in Layton, Utah.

¹⁸⁵ Nathan T. Porter Jr. was born in 1865 in Centerville, Utah. He married Anna Adams (1866-1958) in 1888, served a mission to England in 1893-1895, and died in 1953.

¹⁸⁶ William Henry Streeper Jr. was born in 1869 in Centerville. He married Drucilla Sarah Rich (1871-1952) in 1895 and died in 1947 in Salt Lake City.

¹⁸⁷ Sarah Elizabeth Foss Fox was born in 1827 in Maine. She married Matthias Cowley (1829-1854) in 1857 and, after his death, Jesse Williams Fox (1819-94) in 1871, both in Salt Lake City. Her son Matthias F. Cowley was a fellow missionary with Roberts in Tennessee and later an apostle. Sarah Elizabeth died in 1899 in Bountiful, Utah.

took up note for \$400.00 paying \$20.00 interest having had it for 6 months @ 10 per cent. Went on to town. Learned thro[ugh] Bro. [George] Reynolds that Elder Geo[rge] Q. Cannon started for Europe yesterday (or this morning) in company with H[eber] J. Grant; and as there had been no opportunity to bring up [the] letter about The Seventy (magazine) it was thought it would have to be postponed as he had learned of the existence of letter and of magazine, but heard it was "private enterprise" of mine. It was decided to let [the] matter drop until his return unless the Pre[sident]s Woodruff and Smith called it up. Good meeting today in the Temple. Centerville in eve[ning].

[June 9, 1893] Took 8 A.M. motor for city. David Stoker¹⁸⁸ on train. He proposed going with me to see Mr. [Simon] Bamberger,¹⁸⁹ Pres[ident] of Salt Lake Hot Spring & Bountiful Motor R[ailwa]y to get [a] pass, as other roads were giving me passes & I was doing much traveling in [the] public interest. Mr. B[amberger] was not at office, but before noon thro[ugh] representation of Bro S[toker] sent me [a] pass for which I am grateful. Had John Whittaker type-write article for World's Fair[,] which is nearly completed. Centerville eve[ning].

[June 10, 1893] Worked about home making ready barn for hay, until noon. Packed valises for Col[orado]. Had met Elder [Francis] Lyman & he desired me to meet him there on the 15th to assist in settling land agency claims etc. Louisa drove me to Depot. Failed to see Presidency at Office to present article, had to wait until Monday; so can't leave for Col[orado] Sunday.

[June 11, 1893] Attended 16th Ward Sunday School where I gave

¹⁸⁸ David Stoker was born in 1844 in Nauvoo, Illinois. He married Rogena Hogan (1844-1930) in 1866 in Salt Lake City, served in the Northern States Mission from 1892 to 1894, and was bishop of the East Bountiful Ward from 1896 to 1909. He was also a Davis County commissioner and member of the Utah territorial legislature. He died in 1911 in Bountiful.

¹⁸⁹ Simon Bamberger (1846-1926) came to Utah in the 1870s and invested in mining, the Salt Lake and Ogden Railroad, and the Lagoon amusement park. An active Democrat, he was a state senator and governor, the latter position one that Roberts nominated him for in a memorable speech in 1916. In 1920, Bamberger declined to run for a second gubernatorial term and returned to his business interests in Salt Lake City, where he died six years later.

[a] lecture to [the] theological class. In afternoon spoke in Tabernacle. Large audience, good attention. Blessings of the people during dedication of temple etc. Good liberty. Pleasant eve[ning].

[June 12, 1893] Submitted [World's Fair] article to Presidency — Jos[eph] F. Smith was the only one of the Pres[idency] there but Elders F[ranklin] D. Richards & F[rancis] M. Lyman of the 12 were present. Article was satisfactory. Spent afternoon in correcting Mss., blessings given to elders going on missions etc.

[June 13, 1893] Took train this morning for Col[orado]. Spent the day reading *Life of Christ* by Ernest Renan,¹⁹⁰ a French author of supposed advanced religious thought.

[June 14, 1893] Arrived at Salida[, Colorado,] about 2 A.M.; had to wait 3 h[ou]rs for train to Manassa. Spent time walking about platform. Arrived at Manassa about 10 a. m. Met by Bro Ras. Christensen¹⁹¹ who drove me to my house. Met wife and family, all well. Wife <Celia> just recovering from childbed; saw my daughter Hazel for the first time — 3 weeks old, born 21st of May. She is a healthy, promising child sound in limb & joint — physically perfect. For all Thy Blessings Oh, my Father, I thank Thee. Guard & bless our babe that with the rest thou has given us she may fill her mission. Pleasant day & eve[ning] with family. Saw Pres. Albert Smith in eve[ning]. Arranged for stake meeting Sunday & made inquires about progress of settling difficulties etc.

[June 15, 1893] Spent the day at home. In the eve[ning] called on Elder J[ohn] H[enry] Smith, one of the 12. He seemed somewhat gloomy over the [church's] financial situation and his remarks threw me into gloomy reflections.

[June 16, 1893] This A.M. Bro. John I. Hart,¹⁹² who presided in the

¹⁹⁰ Joseph-Ernest Renan (1823-92) was a French philosopher, historian, and scholar of religion.

¹⁹¹ Rasmus Peter Christensen was born in 1821 in Denmark. He married Bodil Kirsten Poulsen (1827-1850) in 1846, Karen Eskildsen (1829-52) in 1851, and Marie Svendsen (1824-1905) in 1852, all in Denmark, and Sena Pedersen (1838-1905) in 1873 in Salt Lake City. He died in 1913 in Moroni, Utah.

¹⁹² John Issac Hart was born in 1826 in Taunton, England, and married Elizabeth Rice (1826-?) in 1846 in Bristol, England. In Salt Lake City, he married Sarah Col-

Bristol Conference in Eng[land] when I was there called on me & detailed to me his experience during the last 5 of 6 yrs, since I parted fr[om] him. It was my understanding that he had committed the crime of adultery with a Mrs. Mumford; ~~but~~ and cut off for it by a High Council. It seems fr[om] his story that this is not true[,] but he had married her before she was divorced fr[om] her husband; and for this had been excommunicated. He has paid pretty dear for his whistle during the past five y[ea]rs. Spent day chiefly at home. Elder <J[ohn] H[enry]> Smith & wife called during afternoon. Walked in eve[ning]. Had chat with Bro. Martin Christensen about settlement of land & other difficulties.

[*June 17, 1893*] Took the children (Harold & Lena) for a ride to Antinitio, 12 miles. Made some purchases & returned. Met Elders Lyman & Bishop [William] Preston at Judge Petersen's. Made report to Elders of my enquiries etc about Manassa Difficulties.

[*June 18, 1893*] Met at 8 A.M. at Pres. S[ilas] S. Smith's to investigate land troubles. Recommended that each party prepare cases and present them to a board of arbitration in Salt Lake City. Considerable bitterness was manifested. Meeting at 10 A.M. Bp. Preston & Elder Lyman occupied time. Another meeting on land troubles. Meeting at 2 P.M. Elder Lyman & myself occupied time — "Pay your debts" was my text. Spent eve[ning] with my folks. Bp. [John] Dalton came in and talked over land troubles. Retired late.

[*June 19, 1893*] Rose late. W[illia]m Christensen & Bp. Dalton called on me & with them went thro[ugh] papers they had drawn up in land troubles and suggested mode of presenting their case. Afterwards went down to Judge Petersen's & examined accounts etc., and made some notes for brethren suggesting plan of how case could be presented. They proposed to hire me to present their case before board of arbitration. I refused, but said if I could do any thing to bring about a settlement would be glad to do so but would not be their partisan to present their case with a view to win it. What I wanted was to arrive at the truth, and if any thing was fairly

lins (1828-1900) in 1855, Martha Barton (1844-1900) in 1863, Sarah Ann Clayton (1855-1954) in 1874, and Frances Battensby (1833-1909) in 1874. He married Annie Elizabeth Ayer Mumford (1830-?) in 1887 in Logan. He died in 1920 in Hooper, Utah.

due to S[ilas] S. Smith I wanted to see him have it, etc. If they wished me to act in presenting their case and the Presidency did not object, I would see that their cases was fairly put before who ever might be ap[point]ed to hear it. At 4-20 P.M, in company with J[ohn] H[enry] Smith boarded train and reached Salida where we put up at a hotel.

[June 20, 1893] Took train at 3-15 A.M. for Salt Lake. Traveled all day and arrived in City at midnight.

[June 21, 1893] Wrote letter to Sister E[mily] S. Richards now at Chicago respecting paper prepared for her & ~~forwarded the to her both letter & paper.~~ But learning that she would return soon held them. Made a beginning today on New Witnesses for God—Joseph Smith and B[oo]k of Mormon.¹⁹³ In the eve[ning] went up to Centerville found all well, for wh[ich] I thank Thee O, God. Pleasant eve[ning] with folks at home.

[June 22, 1893] Up early this A.M. & worked in my garden. Paid Wayman \$50 interest on note. Went to City on 8 A.M. motor. Met with Council at 11:15 in Temple Room. Rec[eived] ap[pointmen]t to go to Richfield, Sevier Co[unty,]¹⁹⁴ in company with Elders [J. Golden] Kimball & [Christian] Fjelsted. Called on acting Gov. C. C. Richards in the interest of W. H. Casady¹⁹⁵ & now confined in the Penitentiary for adultery. He desires a pardon in order to preserve his citizenship, political rights etc. and I urged the relief prayer for [him]. I also called in behalf of one of the brethren, [August Swensson,] b[ishop's] counsellor at Sp[anish] Fork[, who was] confined in prison for living with his plural wife.¹⁹⁶ ([blank in original])

¹⁹³ B. H. Roberts, *A New Witness for God* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1895).

¹⁹⁴ Richfield is approximately 180 miles south of Salt Lake City.

¹⁹⁵ William H. Casady served a five-month term in the Utah territorial prison for adultery, February-July 1893.

¹⁹⁶ Roberts refers to August Swensson, first counselor of the Spanish Fork Fourth Ward from 1891 to 1901. Swensson was born in 1836 in Sweden. He married Bertha Olson Peterson (1841-98) in 1859 in Spanish Fork, Grethe Birgithe Hansen (1849-1930) in 1868 in Salt Lake City, and Sarah Petersen Hansen (1860-1952) in 1878 in St. George, Utah. Swensson served terms in the Utah territorial prison for unlawful cohabitation in 1889 and for adultery in 1892-1893. He died in 1927 in Spanish Fork.

I wrote to Gov. [Caleb] West¹⁹⁷ now in Washington in behalf of both these cases, and got [Territorial] Sec. [Charles] Richards to do same. Worked in the P.M. on Witnesses.

[June 23, 1893] Took train this A.M. at 8 for Richfield[, Utah]. Elders Fjelsted & Kimball both on board. Arrived Salina[, Utah,]¹⁹⁸ at 4 P.M. Thence by team 20 mi[les] to Richfield where we arr[ived] at 8. Our conveyance was a buck board.¹⁹⁹ Dusty terrible hard ride. Lodged at the home of Bro. H[ans] P. Miller.²⁰⁰

[June 24, 1893] Met at 8 A.M. with a [number] of Pre[sident]s of quo[rum]s. Mapped out our work as to the changes to be made etc. At 10 we met in Seventies Conference and at Bro. Fjelsted's instance I conducted the meeting. The Quorum districts in the Sevier stake were rearranged. The settlements south of Richfield were set off to the 41st quo., Richfield & Glenwood²⁰¹ to the 36th. The settlements north of R[ichfield] & G[lenwood] are to be made into the 107th dist[ri]ct, Grass Valley²⁰² & Rabbit Valley²⁰³ to the 82nd. We ordained 2 Pres[idents] in the 41st and 3 members. We ordained 1 Pres[ident] in the 36th.

¹⁹⁷ Caleb Walton West (1844-1909) served as territorial governor of Utah on two occasions, 1886-1888 and 1893-1896. West was a moderate Democrat who sought to bring various factions together.

¹⁹⁸ As Roberts notes, Salina is twenty miles north of Richfield.

¹⁹⁹ An open carriage, the seat attached to long, flexible boards that rest directly on the axles.

²⁰⁰ Hans Peter Hansen Miller was born in 1833 in Denmark. He married Caroline Margrethe Christine Larsen (1840-1923) in 1862 in Florence, Nebraska. Miller was the postmaster of Richfield, where he died in 1894.

²⁰¹ Ten miles east of Richfield.

²⁰² A long, narrow valley in Sevier County, walled on the west side by the Sevier Plateau and on the east side by the Awapa Plateau and the Parker Mountains.

²⁰³ The Fremont River flows through this valley in Wayne County, west of Loa between Fish Lake and the Awapa Plateau.

X.
*Settling into
Normalcy in Utah*

1 8 9 8

[January 1, 1898] Saw the New Year in company with a few friends — Mrs. and Mr. [Luna and Henry] Rampton, Mrs. and Mr. [Phoebe and William] Evans — both ladies sisters of Mrs. Roberts — at my home in Centerville, Davis Co[unty]. Ben and Lo of the children also stayed up to see 1897 pass away and '98 come in. Adah at a ball.

Worked about home until 10 A.M. Went to Salt Lake City. Dinner with Madge — Mrs. [Lillie] Freeze¹ present. Evening at home — reading Dante.

[January 2, 1898] Clear & cold.

Fast meeting in 12th ward Salt Lake City. Evening at 16th ward meeting house — preached. Subject — prophecies in B[ook] of M[ormon]. Good liberty. Wretched night — nervous.

[January 3, 1898] Smoky & cold.

At Era office. H[eber] J. Grant came in, talked Era — propriety of changing publishers.² I thought it could not be done.

¹ Lillie T. Freeze (1855-1937) served as a charter member of the Primary Association board, 1880-1885, and counselor to Primary president Louie B. Felt (1850-1928), 1888-1905, and also on the general board of the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association (YMMIA), 1889-1906. Roberts refers to her as "Lelialie," which may be a nickname since she is also sometimes referred to as "Lelia."

² At the time, Roberts and Joseph F. Smith were editors of the church youth pub-

Worked on Era.

Evening at home in Centerville with family.

[January 4, 1898] Clear & cold.

(appointment at <70s> Temple room — special meeting with Council.)

Came to Salt Lake City this A.M. Forenoon correspondence etc. Afternoon special meeting of Seventies Council — High Priests room of Temple. In meeting four hours. Under consideration general condition of 70s quorums. Outlined future work. Will not try [to] crowd a quo[rum] of 70ties in to H[igh] P[riests] quo[rums]. Will get rid of unworthy 70ties and seek to convert the rest.

Evening home S. L. C. Chess and Dante.

[January 5, 1898] Clear & cold.

Light correspondence. Regular meeting of 70ties Council. Concluded w special work of yesterday. Rest routine work. Spent rest day working on Era. Evening at Gen[era]l Board meeting of Y[oung] M[en's] M[utual] I[mprovement] A[ssociation] (YMMIA) discussing future work of the societies. At night read Dante until late hour.

[January 6, 1898] Mild & Clear.

Correspondence — worked at Era office until 3 P.M. Went home on Dummy line.³

Paid way man interest on note \$15.00[,]⁴ tax on mortgage \$7.50. Payed \$105 in cash tithing, \$60 — script tithing. Paid Joel Parrish on acc[ount] \$20.00 cash[,] \$20.00 script.

Evening at home with Louisa & children. Aunt Lou and Henry Rampton came in. Chess and conversation.

Retired late after reading a while.

lication, *The Improvement Era*, and Heber J. Grant and Thomas Hull were the business and assistant business managers. Perhaps Roberts meant to say that they were considering a change in "printers."

³ Roberts refers to the Salt Lake-Ogden Railway operated by Simon Bamberger, often called simply "the Bamberger" instead of by its official name. The term "dummy" was used because it was thought that this kind of steam engine was quieter than locomotives. See *A History of the Bamberger Railroad* (Kaysville-Layton Historical Society, 1990).

⁴ A wayman was a road surveyor or road/track maintenance worker. Roberts was probably paying for improvements on his property.

[January 7, 1898] Snow storm.

Went to Salt Lake on 8 A.M. Dummy. Talked with Mat[honiah] Thomas⁵ on way.

Correspondence & Era work occupied time.

Evening at home in Centerville with Louisa & children. Adah there. Conversation, reading Bible to the children — music & singing.

[January 8, 1898] Clear & cold.

Went to city on Dummy.

Era work through the day.

Evening at theatre.

[January 9, 1898] Cloudy & mild and snow storm at night.

Early train for Springville. Met at train by Bro. [Joseph] Storrs⁶ pres[ident] Y.M.M.I.A. Attended 2nd ward S[unday] school.

Meetings with officers Y. M. missionaries including A[bel] J. Evans⁷ at 1 P. M. Heard reports and gave instructions. General meeting at 2 P.M. Evans and self occupied time. 4 P.M. meeting with 51st quo[rum] of Seventy — 1½ hours gave instructions. 7 P.M. Y. M. meeting. I occupied time — good liberty. Stayed all night at Bro. [William] Roylance's home.⁸ Conversed until late hours — Evans stayed with me.

[January 10, 1898] Snowing.

Took O[regon] S[hort] Line for Salt Lake. Arrived at 10-15

⁵ Mathoniah Thomas (1872-1931), then living in Farmington, would soon leave for the University of Michigan Law School. After his return, he would be active in legal and Democratic party affairs in the state. He was the unsuccessful Democratic nominee for Congress in 1912 and 1920.

⁶ Joseph Henry Storrs was born in 1867 in Springville, Utah. He married Rosella A. Harrison (1867-1962) in 1888, was active in politics in Springville, and later moved to American Fork where he was bishop of the Second Ward from 1901 to 1942. He died there in 1952.

⁷ Abel John Evans was born in 1852 in Lehi, Utah. He married Louisa Emeline Zimmerman (1855-1942) in 1874; was active in church, business, and political affairs as a Democrat; and served with Roberts in the Utah Constitutional Convention. He died in 1939 in Lehi.

⁸ William Martin Roylance was born in 1865 in Springville, Utah. He married Laura Ann Turner (1863-1901) in 1885, Mary Zabridsky (1869-) in 1902, and Zina Johnson at some later date. Roylance was active in Democratic politics and served in the Utah House of Representatives from 1896 to 1900. He died in 1925 in Provo, Utah.

A.M. Miscellaneous work – hearing reports from missionaries – F[rank] Y. Taylor, [John] Chidester⁹ and others. Era work.

Evening at Centerville. Lectured on Prophetic pages from the B[ook] of M[ormon].

[January 11, 1898] Clear & cold.

Breakfast at Celia's.¹⁰ All well. Salt Lake at 8 A.M. Spent the day at work in Era office. Night – Dante and chess.

[January 12, 1898] Attended council meeting this A. M. at ten. Prayer circle and routine business.

In the afternoon was visited by R Dr. [John M.] Reiner and Dr. [James E.] Talmadge [Talmage]. The former is a learned Catholic of N[ew] Y[ork]. Learned, traveled, proud of <his> intelligence – scornful of inferior intellectuality – a typical Gentile.¹¹ We spent four hours together in conversation. Elder [Charles] Penrose was present and Dr. M Carl [Karl] G. Maeser. The latter bore a powerful testimony of the truth. I was glad he came. Made appointment to meet Dr. Reiner tomorrow & renew discussion.

Evening meet[ing,] M I A Board. Routine business. Informal conversation at close of meeting.

[January 13, 1898] Clear & very cold.

Correspondence and Era work in the morning. Continued conversation with Dr. John M. Reiner in presence of Elder Penrose, [J. Golden] Kimball, Talmadge (part of the time) Bro. Fred Pieper.¹² From 2 until 5-45[,] had an appointment to continue until tomorrow. More satisfactory than yesterday.

Eve[ning] attended meeting in So[uth] Bountiful and delivered a discourse on Why I am a Mormon. Good freedom. Elder John [W.] Taylor of the XII [Quorum of the Twelve] then followed

⁹ John Foy Chidester was born in 1853 in Palmyra, Utah. He married Mary Nicholl (1856-83) in 1874 and Almina Worthen (1864-40) in 1885. He served with Roberts in the Utah Constitutional Convention. He died in 1917 in Richfield, Utah.

¹⁰ Note that Celia and children have moved back to Centerville.

¹¹ Cf. diary entry for 22 January 1898 (also 14, 23 January 1898).

¹² Frederick Pieper (1872-) was a linguist and shorthand teacher. He served a mission to Europe, 1894-95, and was president of the Netherlands Mission, 1896-97. At the time of this entry, he was secretary of the Deseret Sunday School Union. Later the same year, he became secretary to the First Council of Seventy.

relating vision of his boyhood in which he had seen the face of the son of man.

[January 14, 1898] Smokey and very cold.

Rose early to fortify with glances thro[ugh] reference b[oo]ks for Reiner conversation. Breakfast with Celia & family. Train for Salt Lake.

Dr. Reiner did not keep ap[poin]tment. Elder Fred Pieper who had made acquaintance thro[ugh] letter from Bro. [Richard] Haag has known Dr. R[einer] for some years. Sister Haag was once [a] member of Dr. R[einer]'s congregation in Stuttgart, Germany. Dr. R[einer] was a graduate from 3 universities — in [his] youth in Turkish army as a chaplain, 17 years Protestant preacher in Germany, 3 y[ea]rs without ch[urch] connection, subsequently joined Catholic Ch[urch] of wh[ich] now a lay member. [I]s married — no children. Seemed self-confident.

Evening in Salt Lake — chess.

[January 15, 1898] Clear & cold.

Miscellaneous work not of very profitable nature. A little upset. Ben came to city & Celia assisted former in purchasing suit of clothes. The latter — dear heart — ! had teeth extracted.

Dr. Reiner failed to keep ap[pointmen]t.¹³ Met Elders [Charles] Penrose & [J. Golden] Kimball in afternoon. Purchased John's remarks on *Ecc[lesiastical] Hist[ory]*.¹⁴ Almost formed resolution to study Latin. Confidential chat with Heber <G[rant]> (one of XII). How child like is man!

Evening at theatre.

[January 16, 1898] Some Snow — cold.

¹³ Despite missing the appointment, Reiner spoke in the Tabernacle the next day. He told his listeners that while "he held the Roman Catholic to be the only true Church," he believed that Mormons were not only Christians but, along with Roman Catholics, the only religious body "that really had claim to Christianity at all." His new friends, Messrs. Penrose, Talmage, and Maeser, were also in attendance. See the *Deseret Evening News*, 17 January 1898, 5.

¹⁴ Roberts refers to *The Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, Illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian*, an eight-volume work by John Kaye (1783-1853), first published in the 1820s and widely reprinted in England throughout the nineteenth century. At various times, Kaye was the bishop of London, Bristol, and Lincoln. He was so well known that some versions listed the author simply as "John." He also authored *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius* (London: Rivington, 1888).

Went to Provo to attend Stake Quarterly conference.

Met Elder J[ohn] H[enry] Smith of the XII. Sunday schools in attendance. Spoke on career of Joseph son of Jacob.

Dinner at home of Jacob Gates,¹⁵ son of Father Jacob Gates[,] not long since our senior pres[ident] in the Council of LXXties. Wife Susa Young Gates daughter of Pres late Pres[ident] B[rigg]ham] Young. At conference in afternoon Rev. Dr. [Thomas] Iliff present.¹⁶ I spoke on the law of "All for All."

7-P.M. Y.M.M.I.[A.] meeting. Occupied time in con[ference] with A. J. Evans. Good liberty.

Rest of even[ing] at home of Bro. Gates. Pleasant talk with Leah [Dunford]¹⁷ — reminiscences of N[ew] Y[ork] and Brooklyn.¹⁸

[January 17, 1898] Clear & cold.

Returned from Provo to Salt Lake. Worked at Era office. Went home and spent eve[ni]ng] with Louisa & children.

[January 18, 1898] Cold & clear.

Ate breakfast with Celia and children. Went to Salt Lake. Worked at Era office[,] correspondence etc.

Worked late — until after ten.

[January 19, 1898] Cold & Clear.

Attended Council meeting at eleven A.M. Usual business.

Geo[rge] D. Pyper¹⁹ will leave us. He is our sec[retary] but is

¹⁵ Jacob Forsberry Gates was born in 1854 in Salt Lake City to Jacob and Emma Forsberry Gates. His father would later become one of the Seven Presidents of Severy. Gates served a mission to the Sandwich Islands, 1876-1879; married Susan (Susa) Amelia Young in 1880; and returned for another mission to the Sandwich Islands, 1885-89. At the time of this entry, he was serving on the Utah Stake high council. He died in 1942 in Salt Lake City.

¹⁶ Thomas Corwin Iliff (1845-1918) served as presiding elder and superintendent of Methodist work in Utah from 1876 to 1900. Iliff was an outspoken critic of Roberts after Roberts's election to Congress later in the year.

¹⁷ Leah Eudora Dunford (1874-1965) was the daughter of Susa Young Gates and Alma Dunford. Leah married educator and future apostle John A. Widtsoe (1852-1972) on 1 June 1898.

¹⁸ Roberts and John Morgan spent several days in New York in 1890 at the request of the First Presidency. According to Morgan, they were "called to a mission in the Eastern States to try to convert public opinion on the Mormon question." See Arthur Richardson, *The Life and Ministry of John Morgan* (Salt Lake City: Nicholas G. Morgan Sr., 1965), 481-83.

¹⁹ George D. Pyper (1860-1943) was manager of the Salt Lake Theater and secre-

called to go to take charge of [the] Utah exhibit at [the] Omaha Fair — or Trans-mississippi Fair at Omaha.

Work on Era in afternoon.

In eve[ning] attended Gen[era]l board meeting of Y. M. M. I. A. and after that conjoint meeting with Y. L. M. I. A. board to consider [Mutual Improvement] League business.²⁰

Afterwards attended League entertainment.

[January 20, 1898] Cold

Worked at Era business and missionary correspondence.

Evening went to Lehi where [I] met with people and preached upon God manifested through Christ. Good freedom. Stayed at house of Elder Butts who was laboring in Kansas <City> when Elder [George] Pyper was there in [the] summer of 1896. A good faithful man.

Also met with five Pres[idents] of [the] quo[rum of Seventy] at Lehi. Inquired into conditions[,] found them reasonably good.

[January 21, 1898] Very Cold

Left Lehi for Salt Lake. Susa Young Gates on train enroute for Eureka. Pleasant talk with her tho[ugh] she went no further than Lehi Jct.

B[enjamin] F. Cluff on train enroute for Hawaii Islands, going to learn opinions of natives about annexation. Formerly a missionary there. Knows language well. Goes at instance of Senator F[rank] J. C[annon]. Ingaged article of his for Ap[ri]l n[umber] of Era [on the] results of [his] observation.

tary to the First Council of Seventy. He was later secretary of the Deseret Sunday School Union.

²⁰ The Mutual Improvement League was organized in December 1895 in Salt Lake City as an adjunct to the Mutual Improvement Associations to promote the "physical, intellectual and moral development of its members." Among the first directors was Roberts's wife Margaret. The league established a meeting room and library in the Social Hall at 41 South State Street and supported itself through an annual membership of six dollars, contributions, and fund-raising events. Still, by December 1897, Heber J. Grant would report to the First Presidency and Twelve that the league was "running behind at the rate of \$100 per month; that it was in debt for borrowed money with interest in the sum of \$2,000." The church leaders agreed that the "Church could not furnish funds to maintain it, but would give its moral support to the institution." The league was listed in the 1899 city directory with Edward Phippen (1879-1968) as secretary, but it was apparently disbanded in the early 1900s. See Journal History, 17 Dec. 1895, 6 Nov. 1896, 9 Dec. 1897, LDS archives.

Evening went to Payson thr[ough] mistake to speak to people — app[oint]ment was at Sp[anish] Fork. Hired conveyance and drove over to Sp[anish] F[ork]. House crowded. Good freedom. Stayed with Bro. [William] Jex²¹ a 70ty, father of Heber J[ex].²² Met with pres[ident] of 70 — inquired about quo[rum]. Good condition.

[January 22, 1898] Cold & clear

Returned from Sp[anish] Fork to Salt Lake.

Proofreading Era — correspondence etc. Adah came down [for] dinner together. Pleasant time.

Afternoon Dr. Reiner called again — Bro. Penrose and others — same old word war of words. Prof. [Douglas] Todd²³ was also present.

It was arranged that I should speak in [the] Tab[ernacle in the] afternoon Sunday and [Nephi] Morris²⁴ [would] go to Ogden in to take my place in [the] afternoon.

Evening in study.

[January 23, 1898] Cold

<[Appointment with M. I. A. missionaries at Ogden [in the] afternoon & eve[ning].>

Spent morning in study.

²¹ William Jex was born in 1831 in England. He married Eliza Goodson (1826-1919) in 1854 in Liverpool and Jemima Cox (1835-77) in 1865 in Salt Lake City. Jex was serving as president of the 50th Quorum of Seventy, as well as on the Spanish Fork City Council as a Democrat. He later became Nebo stake president. He died in 1929 in Spanish Fork, Utah.

²² Heber Charles Jex was born in 1871 in Spanish Fork to William and Eliza Goodson Jex. He married Sarah Emeline Bird (1875-1957) in 1898, served a mission to New Zealand, and at the time of this entry was president of the Nebo stake YMMIA. Politically active as a Democrat, he later became mayor of Spanish Fork. He died in 1952 in Provo.

²³ Douglas McLain Todd was born in 1860 in Clover Creek, Utah. He married Florence Marion Driggs (1869-89) in 1887, Marion Davis Lufkin (1869-1920) in 1890, and Hannah Matilda McMurray (1871-1933) in 1899. He taught at Brigham Young College in Logan beginning in 1887; was principal of Fremont Stake Academy (later renamed Ricks College) in Rexburg, Idaho, 1899-1901; and served on the YMMIA general board, 1898-1912. He died in 1935 in California.

²⁴ Nephi Lowell Morris was born in 1870 in Salt Lake City and married Harriet Young (1874-) in 1907 in Salt Lake City. He served on the YMMIA general board, 1898-1912, and as Salt Lake stake president, 1904-1929. He was an unsuccessful Progressive party candidate for governor in 1912 and Republican candidate for governor four years later. He died in 1943 in Salt Lake City.

Afternoon preached in Tab[ernacle]. Dr. Reiner there. Not best of liberty.²⁵

In eve[ning] went to Ogden. Train later. Did not reach [Ogden] Tab[ernacle] until 8 P. M. Intemperances and secret societies the theme. Offended many I think, but I preached the truth as God has revealed it. I think also I offended Dr. Reiner by my afternoon sermon.²⁶ I hope I preached truth and feel I did though in an awkward fashion.²⁷

[January 24, 1898] Very Cold

Returned to S.L.C. on morning train. Attended to correspondence etc.

At 3 P.M. went to Centerville — spent afternoon & eve[ning] with my family.

Evening chess with Henry Rampton.

Came to S. L. C. on 4 P.M. Dummy. Louisa came down later and together we attended Burn's Celebration of [the] Cal[e]donian Society in Christiansen's Hall.²⁸

Stayed all ni[gh]t at [the] Cullen [Hotel].²⁹

[January 25, 1898] Cold Very.

(Burns dinner at Christiansen's Hall 8 P.M. Respond[ed] to toast — R[obert] B[urns].)³⁰

²⁵ Roberts said he was pleased with the nice things Reiner said about Mormonism but wished "that learned men from the East" could realize that "the superiority of the Church" came from "its divinity." See the *Deseret Evening News*, 24 January 1898, 8.

²⁶ Roberts continued the dialogue after Reiner left the state. See the *Improvement Era*, May 1898, 405-82; September 1898, 807-19.

²⁷ The event was sponsored by the YMMIA, and according to the newspaper, Roberts "expressed opposition to secret orders both fraternal and benevolent" and encouraged those in attendance to prepare themselves to serve missions and "take an active part in the work of the mutual improvement associations." See Ogden's *Semi-Weekly Standard*, 25 January 1898, 8.

²⁸ Roberts means Christensen's Hall, located at 115 West 100 South.

²⁹ One of Salt Lake City's best hotels, it was located near Christensen's Hall at 33 West 200 South.

³⁰ The entries for these two days are contradictory regarding the date of the event. According to the *Deseret Evening News*, the celebration was held the evening of 25 January at Christensen's Hall. Roberts "lays no claim to being a Scot, but he warmed the heart of Scotchman present," the paper reported, with his "able and eloquent presentation of the virtues and abilities of the great poet." Roberts described Burns as one who, though "professing religion, ... was not bounded by the lines of any narrow creed." See the *Deseret Evening News*, 26 January 1898, 5.

Louisa went home on early morning train. Correspondence attended to this morning.

Council at 11 A.M.

Afternoon reading.

Evening at General M.I.A. Board meeting.

Chess with Madge.

[January 26, 1898] Still cold.

At Era office. Correspondence heavy this morning.

At

B[isho]p [David] Stoker came in [and] asked me to see [the] Presidency [of the First Council of Seventy] in relation to a number of missionaries in S[outhern] S[tates]. Missionaries absent from home 2 y[ea]rs and more. Thinks [they] ought to come home.

Attended Council meet[ing] at 11 A.M.

Afternoon at Era office and called upon Pres. [Joseph F.] Smith & [George Q.] Cannon Eve about above missionaries.

Eve[ning] attend Y.M.M.I.A. Gen[era]l Board.

[January 27, 1898] Cold

At Era office.

Home in eve in Centerville

[January 28, 1898] Cold

Went to San Ephraim, Sanpete co[unty,] to deliver [a] lecture[, the topic being] on [the] morning of our civilization[,] to the Sanpete Stake L.D.S. academy — leaving on 8 A.M. D.&R.G.R[ailwa]y. Arrived at Eph[raim] 2 P. M. reading enroute.

Spent afternoon reading. Lectured in eve[ning] as per ap[pointmen]t.

J[ohn] F. Allred — sup[erintenden]t of Y.M.M.I.A. [in] this stake came down from Sp[ring] City to invite me to speak before [the] teachers association of Sanpete Co[unty].

[January 29, 1898] Milder —

At 8 A.M. started for Spring City with Bro. Allred.

At ten A.M. addressed the teachers assembled in meeting house.

At 1 P.M. to train for Salt Lake. Arrived six P.M.

[January 30, 1898] Mild for winter weather

This morning took Dummy line for Centerville home.

Attended theological class at Sunday school. Ans[wered] a number of questions.

Dinner at Celia's home. Attended meeting in afternoon but did not speak.

Spent eve[ning] with Louisa & children. Read <New Testament> scriptures to children. Conversed with Ben on various subjects. Explained a number of scriptures to him.

[January 31, 1898] Cold & foggy.

Went to Salt Lake on Dummy R[ailwa]y.

Stayed all day and night in S[alt] L[ake] City, listless and restless. Old evil asserting itself.

Theatre eve[ning]. Opera Amorita.³¹

[February 1, 1898] Mild & foggy —

Spent day at work in Era office.

In eve[ning] delivered my lecture in 22nd ward. Not very good liberty.

Began Latin today under the teaching of Prof. Willard Done, Elders Tho[mas] Hull³² & Nephi L. Morris making up rest of class.

Rec[eived] this day 11.15

55.50

66.65

from the ch[urch].

Am very grateful for this assistance. And I thank thee o, my Father for this provision for my family and I desire to be more worthy of thy infinite goodness.

³¹ According to an advertisement in the newspaper, the opera was performed by the Calhoun Opera Company which boasted a cast of fifty-five and promised "carloads of scenes, seven electric calciums, [and] gorgeous costumes" during a week-long engagement at Salt Lake's New Grand Theater. The play, "Amorita," was a three-act adaptation of Hungarian composer Alphons Czibulka's (1842-94) "Pfungsten in Florenz," written in 1884 and first performed in the U. S. in 1886. According to the *Deseret News*, people "packed the comfortable little playhouse back to the doors, showing that the appreciation of opera by the local public is not on the wane but that it is rather on the increase." See the *Deseret News*, 1 February 1898.

³² Thomas Hull was born in 1855 in London, England. He came to Utah in 1875 and married Margaret C. Swan (1852-1907) in 1877 and Mary Ann Price (1855-?) in 1909. Hull was active in the YMMIA as general secretary, treasurer, and a board member from 1897 to 1905. He died in 1935 in Salt Lake City.

[February 2, 1898] Mild —

Correspondence and Latin this morning.

At ten A.M. met with First Presidency in regular meeting.

Worked at Era office during afternoon.

At 7-30 met at residence of H[eber] J. Grant with Y.M.M.I.A. Gen[era]l Board. Pleasant meeting. App[oin]ted chairman [of] committee on next Y MIA course for 1898-9. [Edward] Anderson,³³ [George] Brimhall,³⁴ [Douglas] Todd, [Thomas] Hull, [Willard] Done [comprised the] rest of committee.³⁵

[February 3, 1898] Mild —

Spent day in sundry employments — correspondence, work on Era etc.

Went home to Centerville. Evening at Louisa's[.] Henry and Luna [Rampton] came in. Chess.

[February 4, 1898] Have ap[pointmen]t in 14th ward with Scandinavian brethren at [blank in the original] o'clock.

Reading, selecting matter for Era & writing most of the day.

[February 5, 1898] Journal Ceased here.

Rest of B[oo]k devoted to scraps — etc.³⁶

³³ Edward H. Anderson was born in 1858 in Billeberga, Sweden. He married Jane Susannah Ballantyne (1861-1939) in 1882 in Salt Lake City and was active in church and political affairs in Weber County. He served a mission to Scandinavia, 1890-1892, and was on the YMMIA general board from 1896 to 1907. Anderson died in 1928 in Salt Lake City.

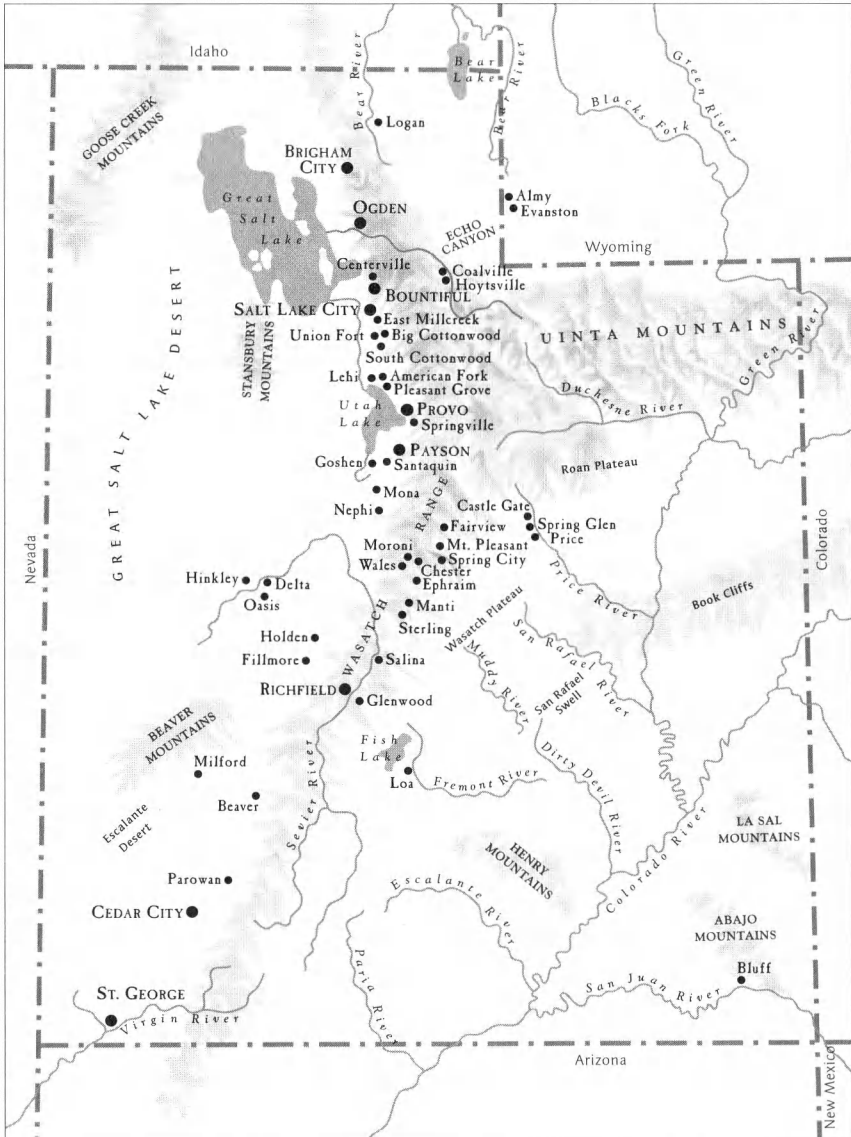
³⁴ George Henry Brimhall was born in 1852 in Salt Lake City. He married Alsina Elizabeth Wilkins (1856-1926) in 1874 and Flora McDonald Robertson (1865-1950) in 1885. He was a member of the YMMIA general board, 1898-1932, and president of Brigham Young University, 1904-1921. He died in 1932 in Provo.

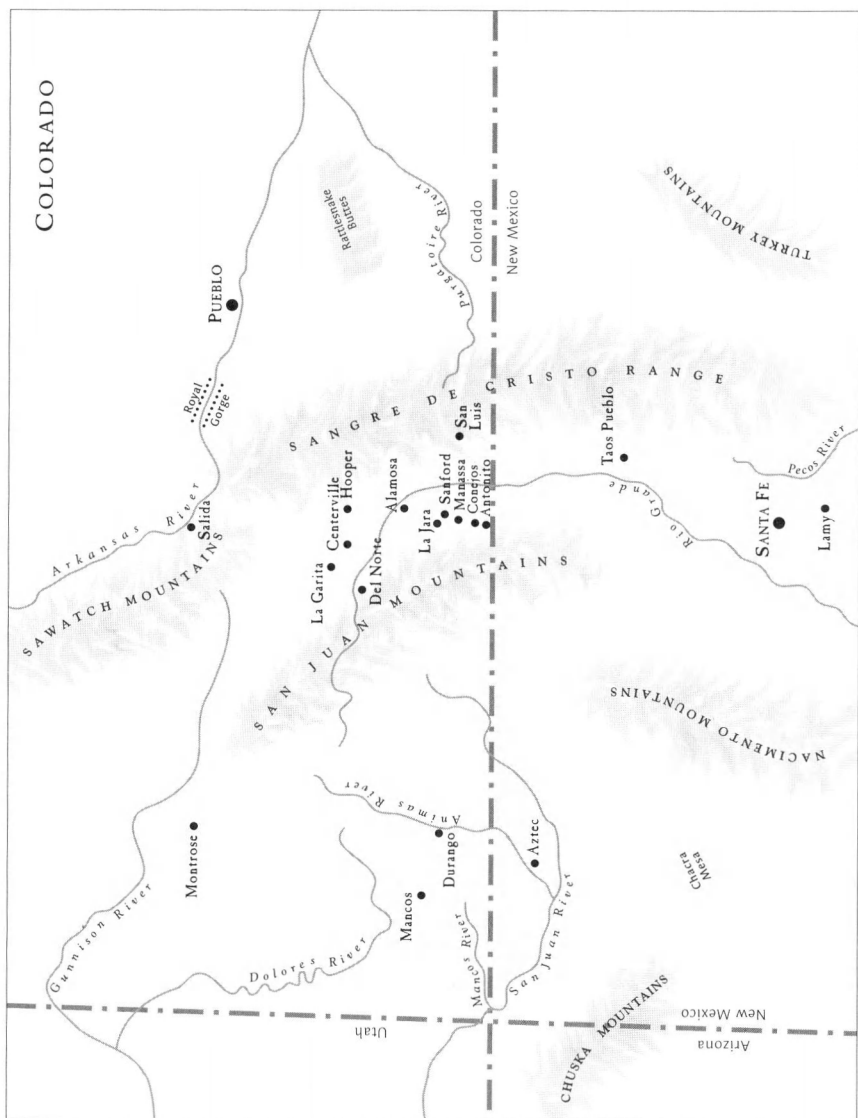
³⁵ All were members of the YMMIA general board.

³⁶ Roberts must have written this last entry after he filled the rest of his diary with literary and philosophical quotations, scriptural references, and clippings. On the page for 6 April 1898, Roberts commented—in an entry labeled “personal” and dated 1 June 1906—that “I feel that at last I have arrived at an understanding with myself; that I have made a pact with my rebellious impulses & achieved a uniform<city> of self-government under which all vagrant tendencies are either held captive or forced into the service of the state.” For 13 and 14 October, there are notes for a speech on the “Mission of Americans.” The space for 22-24 October includes notes for “The Mormon View of Creation,” which Roberts called a companion to his 1903 study, *The Mormon Doctrine of Deity*. Finally, at the end of the journal is a series of notes on Roberts’s “Studies of the Book of Mormon” and his three-volume study, *New Witnesses for God*.

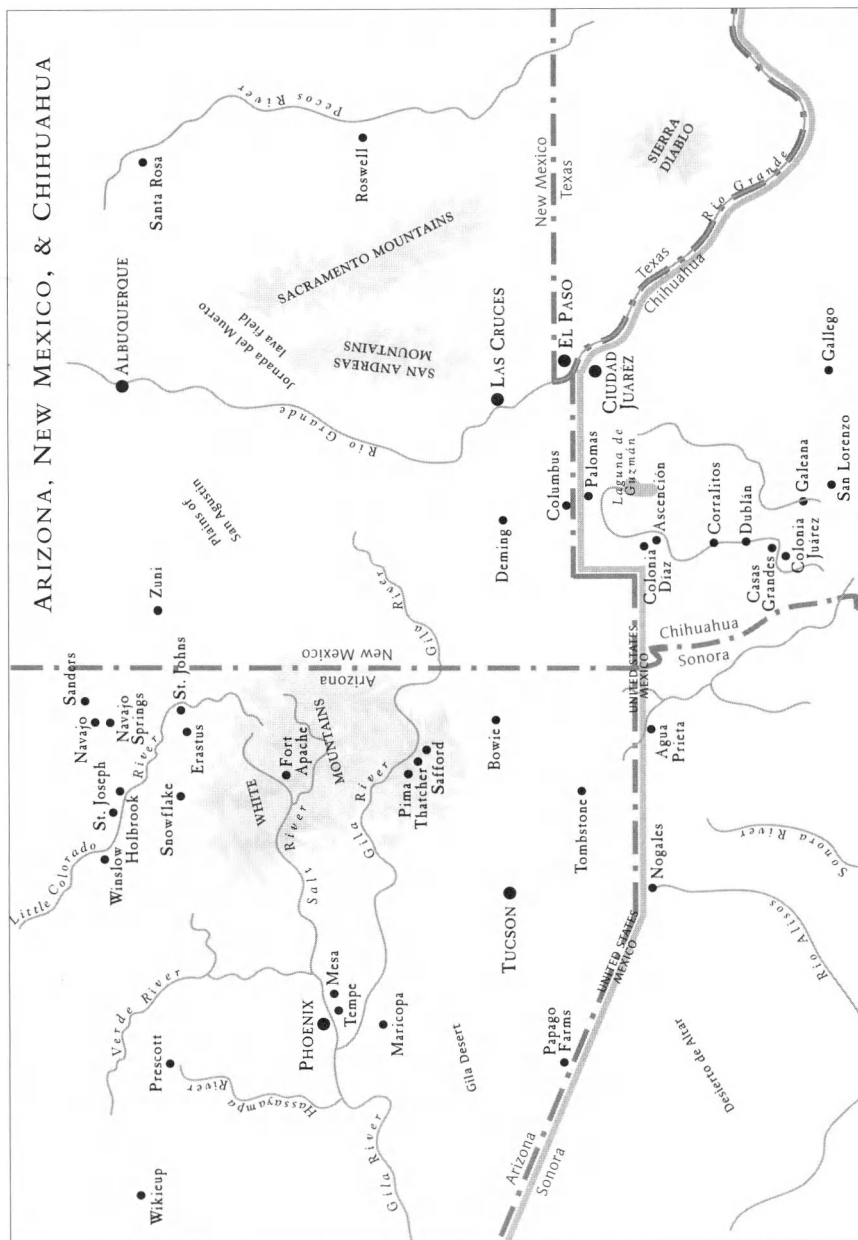
The
MAPS

UTAH



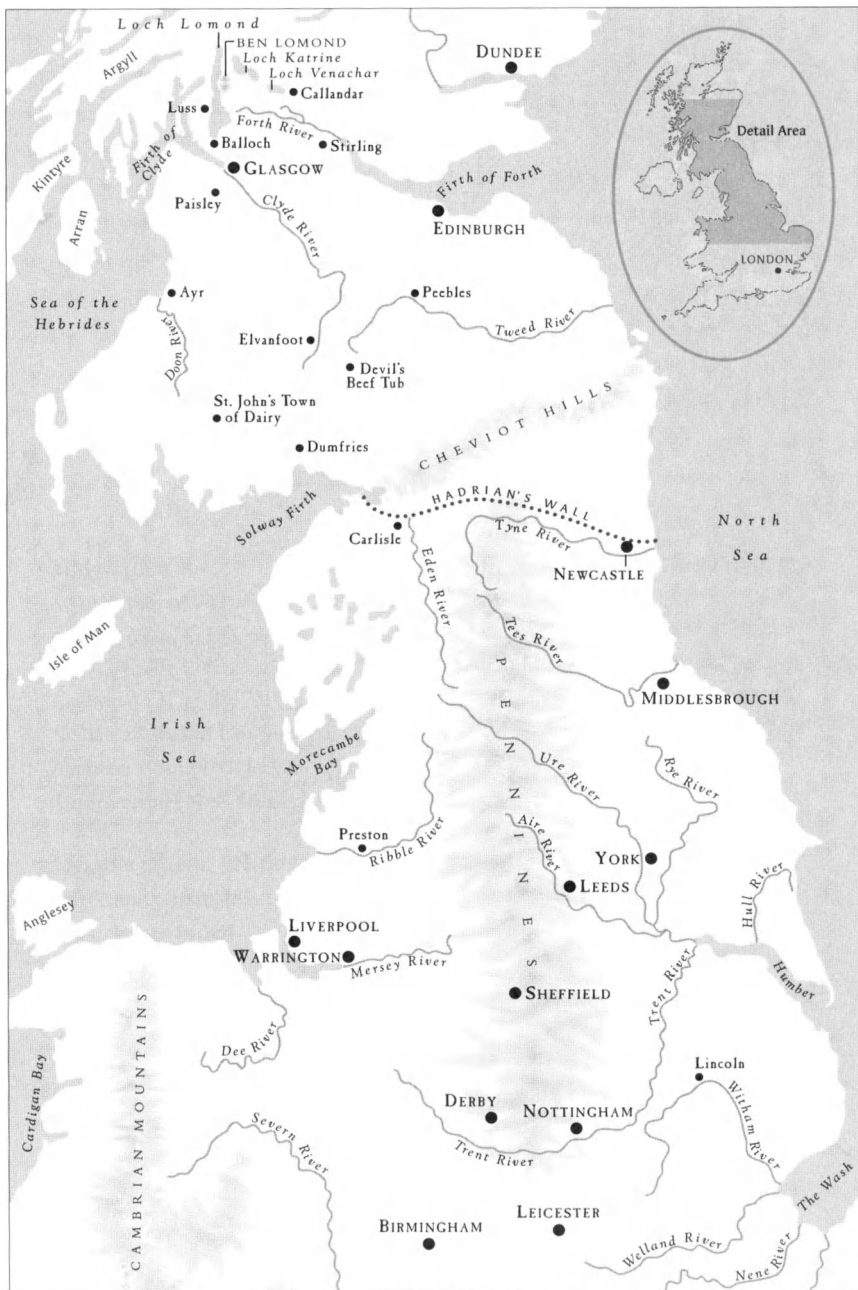


ARIZONA, NEW MEXICO, & CHIHUAHUA





SCOTLAND & ENGLAND



INDEX

- Ackley, Iowa, 3
- Adams, James, 74, 98
- Adams, John, xxxvii, 6, 7, 8, 20, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, 108
- Alabama, 21, 67-68, 73, 87, 144, 301
- Alabama Mission Conference, 99, 119
- Alamosa County, Colorado, 212
- Albuquerque, New Mexico, 254, 266, 268
- Alexander, John, 121, 122
- Alfred the Great, 189
- Allen, James B., xxi
- Allen, W. H., 44, 46
- Allred, James, 64, 66, 67, 69, 74
- Allred, John F., 178, 179, 181, 182, 318
- Allred, John M., 179
- Almy, Wyoming, 237, 238
- Alsup, A. H., xviii, xix, 15-17
- American Fork, Utah, 169, 170
- Anderson, Christian, 296
- Anderson, Edward H., 320
- Anderson, John, 72
- Andrews, Charles, 77, 78, 99, 100, 175, 176
- Andrus, Milo, 166
- Angell, Julia Ann Ingram, 21, 28
- anti-Mormon attitudes, 26, 31-32, 33, 34, 37, 42, 122, 141-42, 147, 153-54
- Antonito, Colorado, 211, 217, 252, 253, 306
- Apache Indians, 259
- Arizona, 241, 242, 257
- Arthur's Seat (Scotland), 197, 198-99
- Ascensión, Mexico, 257, 259
- Assembly Hall (Salt Lake City), 282
- Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad, 254
- Atlanta, Georgia, 124
- Atlantic & Pacific Railroad, 250, 268
- Autobiography of B. H. Roberts*, xvii
- Ayr, Scotland, 191-93
- Baird, James H., xxv, 17
- Baird, Jerome R., 11, 14, 19

- Bairds Mill, Tennessee, 11, 29, 45, 47,
56, 78, 80, 138, 153
- Bairds Mill Branch, 49
- Baldwin Theater (San Francisco), 271
- Ballard, Henry, 297
- Balloch, Scotland, 193
- Bamberger, Simon, 304
- baptism for the dead, 36
- Barber, Amos, 149
- Barber, John, 121, 122, 123,
- Barber, William F., 145
- Barker, Henry, 33
- Barlow, John H., 127
- Barnes, John R., 302
- Barrett, William R., 48
- Bartholomew, George M., 57, 59, 64,
66, 67, 68, 69, 74
- Barton, Joseph, 107
- Barton, Peter, 302
- Bate, Creed, 9
- Bateman, Daniel R., 52, 54, 55, 56, 57,
58, 59, 60, 62, 71, 74, 89, 90, 91, 96,
167
- Bateman, Samuel, 167
- Bates, Irene, xxviii
- Batesville, Mississippi, 117, 118
- Baxter, Frank, 273
- Bean, James W., 109, 111, 172
- Bean, Olive, 172
- Beck, Erastus, 246
- Beesley, William O., 51, 52, 55, 60, 61,
62
- Belmont Station, Tennessee, 21
- Belnap, Hyrum, 31, 36, 37, 38, 50, 52,
53, 94
— and Tennessee Conference, 31,
49, 73, 94
- Ben Lomond (mountain), 194
- Bennion, Israel, 137, 138
- Bergera, Gary J., xvii
- Berthelsen, Soren, 107, 160, 161, 248
- Bevan, John A., 140
- Big Cottonwood Ward, 166
- Bigelow, George A., 136, 137
- Bills, Alexander, 131
- Birmingham, Alabama, 119-20
- Black, Joseph S., 147
- blacks, in Tennessee, xxxvii, 9
- Blanca, Mexico, 259
- Boca Grande (stream), 256
- Boston Ideal Comic Opera Company
("The Bostonians"), 276
- Bountiful, Utah, 102, 127, 301
- Bowie, Arizona, 268, 272
- Boyd, Daniel S., 38, 39, 41, 43, 44
- Boyle, Henry G., 174, 271
- Branch, Eugene E., Jr., 290
- Brandon, Thomas, 208
- Brigham Young Academy, 170
- Brigham Young College, 234, 297
- Bright, Benjamin, 13, 14, 19, 24, 25,
26, 29, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 45,
46, 47, 49, 77
- Bright, John, 17
- Brimhall, George H., 320
- Bromley, William M., 169
- Brooklyn, New York, 314
- Brown, Charles G., 74, 76, 82, 84, 86,
88, 89, 92, 93, 94, 108, 109, 111
- Brown, James M., 286
- Brown, Moroni, 286
- Buchanan, Georgia, 124
- Bullion Beck Mining Company, 238,
299
- Burke, Linard, 154
- Burkes' Garden, Virginia, 134, 136
- Burgess, William, Sr., 290
- Burns, Robert (poet), 191-93, 200, 317
- Burton, Charles S., 210

- Burton, Charles W., 185
 Burton, Robert T., 283
 Butler, Jacob N., 267
 Butler, Patrick, 68
 Byron, Lord George Gordon, 189-90
- Cache County, Utah, 64, 93
 Caine, John T., 102, 204
 Cainsville, Tennessee, 40, 42, 43, 46, 48, 80
 Caledonian Society (Salt Lake City), 317
 California Mission, 242
 Call, Anson B., 260
 Call, Anson V., 17
 Callander, Scotland, 196
 Camp, Richard C., 58, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 73, 95-6
 Camp, Williams P., 155
 "Campbellites," *see* Christian Church
 Cane Creek, Tennessee, 50, 53, 58, 70, 72, 92, 94, 95, 96, 147, 157
 Cane Creek Branch, 52
 Cane Creek Massacre (1884), xxxviii, 153, 250
 Caneyville, Kentucky, 113
 Cannon, Abraham H., xxxix, 209, 224, 226, 303
 Cannon, David H., 144
 Cannon, Frank J., 234-35, 299, 300, 315
 Cannon, George M., 221
 Cannon, George Q., 105, 146, 148, 157, 158, 208-09, 234, 236, 237, 239, 280, 283, 292, 304, 318
 Cannon County, Tennessee, 77
 Careyville, Tennessee, 140, 142
 Carlisle, John E., 30, 300
 Carlton Hill, Scotland, 197
 Carlton's Opera Company, 210
- Carroll, John, 52, 53, 71
 Carter, Charles W. 148
 Carver, George, 5, 6, 7, 8, 20
 Casady, William H., 307
 Casas Grandes, Mexico, 260, 262
 Casas Grandes River, 259, 260
 Casas Grandes Valley, 259
 Cassia County, Idaho, 235
 Cassia Stake, 235
 Castle Gate, Utah, 291
 Cave, Rev. R. Lin, 87
 Cazier, Adelbert, 120, 175, 287
 Cazier, Mary Ann, 175
 Cazier, Orson, 175
 Cedar City, Utah, 223
 celestial marriage, *see* plural marriage
 Centerville, Tennessee, 117
 Centerville, Utah, 39, 99, 100, 102, 105, 128, 146, 218, 243, 281, 282, 284, 286, 288, 292, 294, 295, 296, 298, 301, 302, 304, 307, 309, 310, 311, 312, 317, 319, 320
 Centerville Tabernacle, 203
 Chase, Kate, 150, 179, 206, 208
 Chattanooga, Tennessee, 87, 112, 120, 126, 135, 137, 138, 139-40, 142, 143, 144, 153, 155, 156, 158, 161, 162, 302
 Cheney, Nathan, 17, 146, 148, 149
 Cherry, James, 145
 Cherry, Jesse, 188
 Chester, Utah, 178
 Cheviot Hills (England), 187
 Cheyenne, Wyoming, 106, 107
 Chidester, John F., 312
 Chinatown (San Francisco), 276-77
 Chipman, William Henry, xxiii, 170
 Christensen, Christian F., 131
 Christensen, Jens Martin, 161, 245, 246, 306

- Christensen, Maren R., 161
 Christensen, Marinus, 267
 Christensen, Otto Edward William, 109, 159, 253, 306
 Christensen, Rasmus P., 305
 Christensen's Hall (Salt Lake City), 317
 Christian Church (Campbellite), 15, 66, 87, 97
 Church, George B., 57
 Church, Isaac Emmons, 30, 56, 57, 77, 81, 86, 88, 94, 97
 Church, Laura, 81, 86
 Church, Phoebe, 97
 Church, Robert Robbins, 50, 53, 56, 57, 58, 72, 75, 81, 83, 86, 89, 92, 94, 96, 97
 Church family (Tennessee), 30, 32, 97
 Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
 — financial conditions, 305
 — general conference of 1884, 145-47
 — general conference of 1893, 281-84
 — Historian's Office, 208, 302
 Cincinnati, Ohio, 152-53, 156, 159
 Civil War battlefields, 112
 Claiborne County, Tennessee, 98
 Claridge, Samuel, 269
 Clark, Amasa L., 206
 Clark, Charles R., 149
 Clark, Irwin, 250
 Clark, Joseph S., 117
 Clark, Mary W., 149
 Clark, Wealthy, 207
 Clawson, Rudger, 155
 Cleveland, Grover, 233, 266
 Cliff, Edward, 180, 294
 Clifton, Tennessee, 61, 89, 91, 117
 Cluff, Benjamin, Jr., 170, 315
 Cluff, Benjamin, Sr., 272
 Cluff, William, 205-06
 Cluff's Hall, 205
 Clyde River (Scotland), 193, 200
 Coalville, Utah, 205
 Cock, W. H., 43
 Coffee County, Tennessee, 28, 32, 48, 73, 77
 Coleman, Robert, 50, 81
 Coleman, Rufus, 31
 Colonia Díaz (Mexico), 255, 256, 257, 259
 Colonia Dublán (Mexico), 260
 Colonia Juárez (Mexico), 256, 259, 260, 261, 265
 Colorado, 107
 — Mormon colonies in, 7, 107, 147, 151, 158, 160, 243, 282, 304, 305
 Colton, California, 275
 Columbia, Tennessee, 30, 32, 50, 81, 86, 88, 89, 92-93, 94, 96, 97, 153, 155
 Columbus, Kentucky, 4
 Comer, George, 74, 77, 98, 99
A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, xvii
 Condor, George Henderson, 59, 60
 Condor, Thomas, 71
 Condor family, 51
 Conejos County, Colorado, 110
 Conejos River, 109
 Constitution Building (Salt Lake City), 238
The Contributor, xxv, 10, 178, 181, 213
 Cook, Amos, 134
 Coombs, Isaiah M., 173
 Cooperative Retrenchment Association, xxix
 Cooperative Wagon and Machine Company, 299, 302

- Corallitos, Mexico, 259
 Corinth, Mississippi, 117
 Cottrell, Edward A., 207
 Cottrell, Laura, 208
 Council of the Twelve, *see* Quorum of the Twelve Apostles
 Cowley, Matthias F., 100, 221, 243, 286
 Craddock, S. H., 44, 45, 46
 Crandall, William, 171, 172
 Crawley, Thomas, 175
 Crowther, Thomas A., 247
 Crump, Reynolds A., 126, 166
 Cullen Hotel (Salt Lake City), 317
 Cumberland River, 79
 Cunliffe, John, 175
- Daines, W. M., 155
 Dalton, Edward, 249
 Dalton, Hannah S., 212
 Dalton, John C., 212, 213, 216, 218, 245, 246, 248, 249, 250, 306
 Dalton, John L., 276, 277, 278
 Daniels, Frank, 275
 Danville, Virginia, 133
 Davidson, John M., 128
 Davis County, Utah, 234, 255, 309
 Davis Stake, 221, 223, 303
 Decatur, Alabama, 119
Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story, xvii, xviii
 Deming, New Mexico, 253, 256-57, 266, 268
 Democratic Party (Utah), xxvi, 230, 232, 236, 237
 Democrats, 229, 231, 235
 Denver, Colorado, 106, 107, 211
 Denver & Rio Grande Railroad, 107, 111, 172, 205, 213, 243, 282, 289, 318
 DePriest, James H., 51-52, 71, 89, 108
 DePriest, William Orson, 71
 Derbyshire, England, 187
 Des Arc, Arkansas, 144
 Deseret, Utah, 147, 295
Deseret News, 18
 Deseret University (Salt Lake City), 73
 Dibble, Antoinette C., xix
 Dibble, Celia, *see* Roberts, Celia Dibble
 Dibble, Laura Antoinette, 282
 Dibble, Philo, Jr., xxix, 149
 Dibble, Philo, Sr., 171, 173
 Disciples of Christ, *see* Christian Church
 Doctrine and Covenants, 37
 Done, Willard, 279, 319, 320
 Downing, Alex L., 69
 Downing, Lyddy, 69
 Draper, Joseph, 290
 Drennon, Moses, 34
 Drennon, Thomas J., 18, 33, 37
 Dubois, Fred T., 242
 Duck River, 5, 8, 22, 28, 55
 Duck River, Tennessee (Hickman County), 32, 56
 Duck River ("Ducker") Branch, 81
 Dudley, Gilbert M. "Marsh," 62
 dummy train, *see* Salt Lake-Ogden Railroad
 Dunford, Leah E., 314
 Durango, Colorado, 213-14, 216
 Dustin, Ann Roberts, *see* Roberts, Ann
 Dustin, Byrnina, 204
 Dustin, Seth, xxiv
 Dwyer, James, 148
 Dye, Rev. W. L., 31-32, 55
- Eardley, James Walter, 53, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 73, 76, 81, 82, 84, 89, 92, 95, 96, 97, 222, 241, 243, 247, 289
 Easley, Benjamin, 28-29

INDEX

- Easley, Nancy, 28
- East, Bazley G., 65
- East Mill Creek Ward, 164
- East Tennessee Mission Conference, 99, 113, 142
- Easton, John M., 125, 126, 127, 128, 143
- Echols, Louis, 108
- Echols, Samuel, 122, 124
- Edinburgh, Scotland, 196, 197, 199
- Edward II, King of England, 189, 196
- El Paso, Texas, 265-66
- Elderidge, Alma, 206
- Eldredge, D. H., 108, 109, 110
- Eldredge, James A., 116, 153, 154
- Eldredge, Joseph U., 155
- Eldora, Iowa, 4
- Enmon, Martha A., 95
- Ephraim, Colorado, 109, 160
- Ephraim, Utah, 181, 294, 318
- Erastus, Arizona, 267
- The Essential B. H. Roberts*, xxi
- Eureka, Utah, 299, 315
- Eureka Miner's Union, 299-300
- Evans, Abel J., 311, 314
- Evans, Phoebe, 148, 204, 309
- Evans, William, 148, 204, 309
- Evanston, Wyoming, 237
- Eyring, Henry C. F., 265
- Fagan, Richard T., 6, 7, 8, 21, 22, 24, 28
- Fairbanks, John B., 142, 143, 173
- Fairview, Utah, 179
- Farmer, Erastus G., 131
- Farmer's Ward, 163
- Farmington, Utah, 206-07, 208
- Farr, Lorin C., 284-85
- First Council of Seventy, xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, 204-05, 209, 218, 219-20, 278, 280, 282, 286, 288, 292, 296, 303, 307, 310, 314, 318
- First Presidency (LDS), xxvii, 231, 233, 234, 236, 242, 282, 300, 301, 305, 320
- Fish, Joseph, 268
- Fjelsted, Christian D., 181, 204-05, 221, 231, 307, 308
- Flake, Chad, xxi
- Flake, James M., 267-68
- Florence, Alabama, 144
- Ford, John, 106
- Ford, Joseph, xxxvii, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 19, 21, 22, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32-33, 43, 45, 48, 49, 50, 70, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 88, 92, 93, 101, 102, 151
- Fort Lewis (Colorado), 214
- Forth River (Scotland), 196, 197
- Forty-Eight Creek, 69, 71, 72
- Fountain Green, Utah, 178
- Fox, Sarah E., 303
- Franklin, Idaho, 242
- Franklin, Kentucky, 114
- Franklin County, Tennessee, 77
- free will offering fund, 220-21, 223, 244
- Freeze, Lillie T., 309
- Friel, Anna, 173
- Friel, Mary, 173
- Friendship, Tennessee, 26
- Fuller, Jesse J., 172
- Fullmer, Oscar M., 30
- Funk, Marcus O., 251
- Galbraith, William W., 255, 261
- Galena, Mexico, 262
- Gallego, Mexico, 262
- Garfield, James A., 53, 214
- Garrett, Liza, 89

- Garrett, Thomas, 50, 52, 58, 70, 71, 72, 89, 90, 92
- Gates, Jacob, 204, 206, 219-20
- Gates, Jacob F., 314
- Gates, Susa Young, 239, 314, 315
- Gathering of Israel, 81-82
- to Colorado, 7, 158, 160
- to Utah, xxxvii, 68, 89
- Georgia, 56, 121
- Gibbs, George F., 237, 239
- Gibbs, John H., 116, 117, 250
- Gila Valley, Arizona, 271
- Gladeville, Tennessee, 10, 13
- Glasgow, Scotland, 199-200, 201
- Glasgow Green, 200
- Glasgow Missionary Conference, 199
- Glasgow Union, 201
- Glassman, William, 299
- Glenwood, Utah, 308
- Godfrey, Thomas, 140-41, 142
- Golden Gate Park (San Francisco), 275, 277
- Goose Creek, Utah, 102
- Gordon, Nelson, 127
- Goshen, Utah, 174
- Grant, Heber J., xxvii, 146, 304, 309, 313, 320
- Grant, Jediah M., 132, 136
- Grantham, James E., 246
- Grantsville, Utah, 86
- Grass Valley, Utah, 308
- Greensboro, North Carolina, 128, 129, 132
- Grimes, George, 61, 89
- Grimes, Martha, 61
- Groo, Byron, 229, 232
- Gwyn, Betty, 20
- Gwyn, George, 34, 35, 42, 43, 47, 49
- Gwyn, Jane, 27, 33, 34
- Gwyn, M. J., 138
- Gwyn, Robert, 28, 29, 33, 36, 37, 38, 138
- Gwyn, William, 12, 13, 17, 18, 20, 25, 27, 29, 33, 40, 49, 78, 79
- Haag, Richard T., 313
- Hafen, Godfrey, 173, 174
- Hafen, John, 171, 173
- Hakes, Collins R., 273, 274
- Halls, George, 215
- Halls, William, 215
- Hamburgh, Tennessee, 63
- Hammon, Levi B., 94
- Hammond, Frances A., 214, 215
- Hammond, James T., 30, 32, 33, 45, 48, 74, 76, 77
- Hansen, James Jens Peter, 181
- Haralston County, Georgia, 122
- Hardin County, Tennessee, 57, 63, 73
- Hardy, George W., 260
- Harker, Joseph, 167
- Harlan, J., 67
- Harper, John C., 260
- Harper, Thomas E., 155
- Harris, Dennison E., 260-61
- Hart, John I., 305-06
- Hawkes, Joshua, 116
- Hawkins, Anna, 80
- Hawkins, John, 9, 18, 20, 24, 35, 40, 77, 78, 79, 80, 108,
- Hawkins, Nancy, 78, 80
- Haws, John M., 21, 175
- Haws, Nathaniel W., 112, 120, 121, 126, 137, 138, 142
- Heiselt, Hans C., 160
- Helm, Levi P., 165, 245, 246, 247, 249
- Henderson, William, 199
- Hendricks, John T., 115

INDEX

- Hendricks, Tinotha, 115
Henniger, John T., 55, 134, 178
Henniger, Samuel T., 134
Herold, John T., 91
Hess, David, 144
Hickman County, Tennessee, 22, 73, 91, 116, 117
Hill, Archibald N., 126
Hinckley, Ira N., 295, 296
Hinckley Ward, 295
Hinson, Thomas G., 21
History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, xviii
Holbrook, Arizona, 268
Holdaway, John M., 172, 174
Holden, Utah, 296
Holderfield, George, 84, 88
Hoover, Samuel, 53, 54, 56, 92
Horn, Albert, 10, 11-12
Horne, Henry J., 273
horse racing, 32
Howe, George E., 100
Howell, D., 64-65, 66
Howells, Mary P., 150
Howells, Thomas F., 150, 203, 302
Hoytsville, Utah, 206
Huddleston, Anna, 80
Huddleston, E. J., 98, 115
Huddleston, G. P. "Perk," 14, 45, 46, 47, 80, 98, 99, 115, 138
Huddleston, J. F., 80
Huddleston, Thomas, 40, 43, 44-45, 46, 47
Huddleston family, 18, 19, 20, 24, 26, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40
Hughes, Allen B., 4, 14
Hull, Thomas, 319, 320
Hunsaker, Lorenzo, 31, 57, 73
Hunt, S. W. "Wess," 59, 60, 96
Hunter, Edward, xxviii, 170
Hunter, Joseph S., 140-41
Huntsville, Utah, 214
Huxley, Thomas, 157
Hyde, William, 214, 215
Iliff, Thomas, 114
Improvement Era, 309, 310, 311, 312, 314, 315, 316, 318, 319, 320
Indian Creek, Tennessee, 67, 69
Indio, California, 274-75
Ingersoll, Robert G., 114, 119
Ingram, Benjamin, 7, 24, 28
Inverberg, Scotland, 194
Iowa, 3-4, 14, 33
Isabella, 189
Israelsen, Andrew M., 119
Ivanhoe, 188
Ivins, William Howard, 261
Jack, James, 296-97
Jacksboro, Tennessee, 140
Jackson, Samuel, 141, 142, 143, 175-76
Jefferson, Tennessee, 35
Jeffersonville, Virginia, 135
Jenkins, James, 130, 175, 176
Jensen, Jens Hyrum, 4, 6, 14
Jenson, Andrew, xlii, 295, 296, 302
Jersey wagon, 12, 49, 80
Jex, Heber C., 316
Jex, William, 316
John, David, 174
John Bright (ship), xxii
Johnson, Abia E., 259
Johnson, Violet J., 259
Johnson, William D., Jr., 256, 257, 259
Johnson, William D., Sr., 258
Johnson, William Didymus, 269
Johnston, Gen. Albert Sydney, 66

- Joseph, William H., 98, 142, 143
 Juab County, Utah, 174
 Judd, Zadok K., 137
Juvenile Instructor, 150, 152
- Kanab, Utah, 224
 Kansas City, Missouri, 152
 Kay, Edward, 174
 Kaysville, Utah, 101
 Keeling, George C., 95
 Kelsch, Louis, 113, 114, 116, 166, 167
 Kelton Station, Utah, 235
 Kentucky, 4, 113
 Kimball, Daniel H., 164
 Kimball, Heber C., 112-13, 164
 Kimball, J. Golden, xxviii, 112, 134-35, 137, 147, 153, 155, 156, 158, 160, 161, 162, 292, 301-02, 307, 308, 312, 313
 Kimball, Newell, 134-35, 137
 Kirby, William H., 121, 123, 124, 160
 Kirkpatrick, J. R., 65
 Knox, John, 198
 Knoxville, Tennessee, 137, 142
 Ku Klux Klan, xxxiv, xxxviii, 59, 60, 122
- La Jara, Colorado, 107, 159, 162, 252
 Lamph, William T., 291
 Lamy Junction, New Mexico, 254
 Lancaster, J. M., 155
 Lannan, Patrick, 244, 245
 Larson, Stan, xx
 Latter-day Saints College, 268, 279, 286, 288, 292, 294, 296, 301
 Lauderdale County, Alabama, 67, 73, 144
 Lawrence County, Alabama, 73
 Layton, Christopher, 268, 269, 271
 Leatherwood, Tennessee, 81, 82, 83-84
- Lebanon, Tennessee, 11, 12, 13, 25, 32, 36, 39, 43, 80, 81, 97, 98, 99, 115, 116
 Leesville, Tennessee, 49
 Lehi, Utah, 168, 315
 Lemmon, Erastus G., 144
 Lesueur, John T., 266
 Lett, Henry C., 238
 Levan, Utah, 175
 Lewis County, Tennessee, 52, 73
 Liberal Party (Utah Territory), 229, 231
 Lick Creek, Tennessee, xxxiv, 59
Life of John Taylor, The, xviii
 Linden, Tennessee, 59, 60, 71
 Little, Feramorz, 258
 Little, James, 258
 Liverpool, England, 186, 187, 199
 Llewellyn, John, 178
 Loch Archy, 195
 Loch Arklet, 195
 Loch Katherine, 195
 Loch Lomond, 193
 Loch Venachar, 195
 Logan, Utah, 93, 151, 182, 234, 299
 Los Angeles, California, 274, 275
 Louisville, Kentucky, 50
 Louisville & Nashville Railroad, 99
 Love, A. J., 54
 Love's Branch, Tennessee, 56, 72
 Low, James P., 193, 197
 Loyd, James H., 63
 Lund, Anthon H., 221, 241, 243-44, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 293-94
 Luss, Scotland, 194
 Luther, Martin, 225
 Lyman, Clara C., 217, 218
 Lyman, Francis M., xl, 206, 212, 213, 214, 215-16, 224, 225, 226, 239, 241,

- 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249,
250, 251, 252, 253, 278, 279, 280,
289, 290, 291, 304, 305
- Lyman, Platte D., 215
- Lyman, Walter C., 295, 302
- Lynchburg, Virginia, 133
- Macaulay, Thomas B., 278
- Madsen, Brigham D., xviii, xix, xx, xxi
- Madsen, Truman G., vxii, xxv, xxxix
- Maeser, Karl G., 170, 312
- Mahew, Otto L., 119
- Mahone Party (Virginia), 136
- Maiben, John B., 182, 293
- Malad Basin, Idaho, 236
- Manchester, Tennessee, 5, 21, 22, 23,
24
- Manchester Branch (England), 22
- Mancos, Colorado, 252
- Mancos River, 214
- Mancos Ward, 214
- Manifesto, *see* Woodruff Manifesto
- Manti, Utah, 292, 293
- Manti Temple, 182-83
- Maricopa, Arizona, 272, 273, 274
- Marion, Virginia, 134, 137
- Martineau, Charles F., 93, 94
- Mary, Queen of Scots, 198
- Masonic Library (Salt Lake City), 164
- McAllister, Duncan, 210
- McAllister, J. D. T., 293
- McCombs, Andrew, 74, 77, 78, 98, 99
- McCullough, James R. 79-80
- McDonald, Francis, 165
- McIntyre, Erastus W., 290-91
- McKay, William, 185
- McMurrin, Joseph, 221
- McMurrin, Sterling, xvi, xx
- McNairy County, Tennessee, 66, 73
- Meeks, J. J., 68
- Melancthon, Philip, 225
- Memphis, Tennessee, 117
- Memphis & Chattanooga Railroad, 4
- Memphis & Corinth Railroad, 117
- Memphis & Fort Scott Railway, 152
- Merrill, Mariner W., 243
- Merrill, Thomas Hazen, 52, 53, 54, 55,
56, 57, 58, 71, 72, 73, 76, 89, 92, 96,
243
- Merritt, Samuel A., 167
- Metcalf, John E., 293
- Mexican Mission (LDS), 259
- Mexico, 241, 242, 243, 252, 258
- Milford, Utah, 224
- Mill Creek Ward, 165, 241, 242
- Millard Stake, 295
- Millennial Star*, xvi, xxv
- Miller, George L., 240
- Miller, Hans P., 308
- Miller, Henry, 170
- Miller, Phillip, 60-61, 90, 95
- missionaries, violence toward, 45,
54-55, 56, 58, 59-60, 133, 172, 301-02
- Mississippi, 144
- Mississippi Mission Conference, 118,
126
- Mobley, Andy, 89
- Mobley, L. C. W., 84
- Mona, Utah, 174, 176
- Moore, Samuel D., 117, 118, 126
- Morgan, Annie, 213, 246, 249, 250
- Morgan, John, 158, 162, 168, 169, 205,
208, 209-10, 213, 221, 231, 234, 242,
245, 246, 247, 249, 250, 274, 292
- Mormon Battalion, 277
- Mormon Bibliography*, A, xxi
- Moroni, Utah, 178, 182
- Morris, Nephi L., 316, 319
- Mortimer, Roger, 189

- Mower, John A., 121, 123, 124
 Moyle, James H., 186
 Mt. Airy, North Carolina, 129
 Mt. Pleasant, Utah, 179, 180, 181, 294
 Mumford, Elizabeth Ayer, 306
 Murdock, John R., 21, 22, 30, 31, 32
 Murfreesboro, Tennessee, 9, 20, 24, 29, 138
 Mutual Improvement Association, xxix, 312, 318
 Mutual Improvement League, 315

 Napier's Furnice, Tennessee, 70
 Nashville, Tennessee, 5, 25, 29, 32, 38, 49, 50, 56, 57, 79, 80, 81, 86, 93, 97, 99, 100, 115, 116, 117, 139
 Nashville Centennial Exposition, 29, 32
 Nauvoo, Illinois, xvi, 224, 293
 Navajo Springs, Arizona, 266
 Needmore, Tennessee, 8
 Neff, Amos H., 165
 Neff, John, 164-65
 Nephi, Utah, 175, 178, 286
 New Prospect, Tennessee, 140
 New Mexico, 253
A New Witness for God, xviii
 New York City, 314
 Newstead Abbey, 189-90
 Nibley, Charles W., xxviii
 Nichols, Elizabeth Audrey, xxiv
 Nichols, John W., xxiv
 Noah's Fork, Tennessee, 23
 Nokes, Charles M., 166
 Norris, T. G., 273
 North Carolina, 129
 North Carolina Mission Conference, 128, 129
 North Jordan, Utah, 167
 Northwestern Railway (England), 187
 Nottingham, England, 186, 187
 Nottingham Castle, 188
 Nottingham Church Cemetery, 188
 Nottingham General Town Cemetery, 188
 Nottingham Mission Conference, 187, 188

 Oakland, California, 275, 277
 Oakley, Idaho, 235, 236
 Oakley, J. B., 41, 43
 Oasis, Utah, 224
 Ogden, Utah, 100, 151, 164, 182, 228, 229, 230, 231, 278, 286, 316, 317
 — and Mutual Improvement Association missionaries, 316
 Ogden Democratic Convention (1892), 230-32, 233
Ogden Standard, The, 299
 Ohio & Missouri Railroad, 156
 "Old Trave," 94
 Olson, Lars M., 289, 290, 297
 Oneida Stake, 242
 Oregon, Tennessee, 46, 47
 Oregon Short Line Railroad, 311
 Ostler, Charles P., 132
 Ottumwa, Iowa, 4
Outlines of Ecclesiastical History, xviii
 Overson, Henry C., 267
 Oxford, Mississippi, 119

 Page, William, 301
 Paine, Thomas, 292-93, 294
 Palace Hotel (Logan, Utah), 297
 Palace Hotel (San Francisco), 275
 Palmer, William, 39
 Park City, Utah, 228
 Parkes, Georgiana, 175, 176, 178
 Parkinson, George C., 30, 242, 243

- Parkinson, Samuel, 242
 Parowan Stake, 223
 Parrish, Joel, 302, 310
 Parrish, Mary, *see* Howells, Mary P.
 Parrish, Parley P., 289
 Parrish, Samuel J., 121, 122
 Patterson, James G., 217
 Patterson, Joseph B., 267
 Paul, Joshua H., 233-34, 297, 298
 Paul, Walter G., 113
 Paxman, William, 176, 178
 Payson, Utah, 173, 316
 Peacock, John L., 183
 Peacock, Syrena, 183
 Pearce, Robert, 116, 126
 Pearl of Great Price, 37
 Peery, D. H., 135
 Pennine Mountains (England), 187
 Penrose, Charles W., 312, 313, 316
 People's Party (Utah Territory), 229, 230
 Perpetual Emigration Fund, xxii, xxiv
 Perry County, Tennessee, 57, 58, 73, 89, 94
 Petersburg, Virginia, 127
 Petersen, Canute, 181, 293
 Peterson, Thor, 160
 Pettyville, Utah, 183
 Peveril, William, 189
 Phoenix, Arizona, 273
 Phoenix, Tempe & Mesa Stagecoach, 272
 Piedmont Railroad, 129
 Pieper, Frederick, 312, 313
 Pilot Mountain (North Carolina), 130, 131
 Pima Ward, 269
 Pine Grove, Tennessee, 67
 Pleasant Grove, Utah, 170, 171
 plural marriage, 37, 39, 40, 168-69, 171, 223-27, 257, 279, 307
 — federal prosecution for, xxv, 165-66, 168-69, 171, 224, 228
 political Manifesto, 233
 Polk County, Georgia, 123
 Pollock, A. L., 230
 polygamy, *see* plural marriage
 Porter, Aaron B., 145, 151, 204, 208
 Porter, Julius, 118
 Porter, Nathan T., Jr., 303
 Portobello, Scotland, 197, 198
 Pratt, Arthur, 185
 Pratt, Helaman, 260
 Pratt, Orson, 185, 296
 Pratt, Parley P., 8, 173, 296
 Pratt, Teancum, 291
 Pratt, William H., 295, 296
 prayer circles, 48, 55, 58, 95, 283
 presiding bishop, 252
 presiding bishopric, xxviii
 presiding patriarch, xxviii
 Preston, William B., xxviii, 252, 283, 306
 Price, Utah, 289
 Primary Association (LDS), 216, 260
 Prince, Newton, 7, 20, 23, 24, 28
 Provo, Utah, 170, 171, 216, 233, 238, 314
 Pueblo, Colorado, 111, 151, 156, 159, 162, 212
 Pulsipher, Lynn, xxi
 Pye, Martin, xxii, 180
 Pyper, George D., 314-15
 Queen, James C., 62, 91, 117
 Quinn, D. Michael, xxxix
 Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, xxvii, 237, 279, 282, 305

- Rabbit Valley, Utah, 308
- Rainey, David P., 64
- Raleigh, North Carolina, 129
- Rampton, Henry J., 101, 150, 204, 243, 292, 309, 310, 317, 320
- Rampton, Luna, 204, 235, 243, 309, 310, 320
- Randall, Julia Adarena W., 210
- Randall, Melvin, 33, 106
- Rawlins, Joseph L., 291, 298
- Rawlins, Joseph S., 167
- Ray, Daniel, 63
- Ray, Milton S., 255-56
- Rayburn, Tennessee, 64
- Red Sulphur Springs, Tennessee, 63, 64
- Rees, Henry D., 178
- Reid, William T., 293
- Reiner, John M., 312, 313, 316, 317
- Renan, Joseph-Ernst, 305
- Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 9, 20, 77
- Republican Party (Arizona), 274
- Republican Party (Utah), 230, 231, 232, 236
- Republican Territorial Convention (1892), 234
- Republicans, 229, 235
- Reynolds, George, 241, 280, 288, 294, 297, 303, 304
- Rich, Landon J., 136, 173
- Richard III, King of England, 189
- Richards, Charles C., 237, 307, 308
- Richards, Emily S., 300, 301, 305, 307
- Richards, Franklin D., 101, 105, 146, 207, 280, 288, 303, 305
- Richardson, Sullivan C., 259, 261
- Richfield, Colorado, 107, 110, 159, 162, 248
- Richfield, Utah, 307, 308
- Richmond, J. B., 26
- Richmond, Virginia, 132-33
- Riese, J. K., 113
- Rigby, William F., 121, 124
- Riley's Creek, Tennessee, 22
- Rio Grande River, 254-55
- Rippy, James M., 61, 127
- Rise and Fall of Nauvoo, The*, xviii
- Roberts, Adah, xxix, 18, 47, 75, 101, 105, 182, 207, 278, 281, 302, 309, 311
- Roberts, Ann, xxi, 19, 70, 75, 101, 105, 128, 148, 204, 243
- Roberts, Benjamin (father), xxi, 294
- Roberts, Benjamin (son), xxix, 182, 270, 278, 309, 313, 319
- Roberts, Bolivar, 216
- Roberts, Brigham Henry
- childhood and adolescence, 85-86, 170, 180, 294, 301
 - apprenticeship to James Baird, xxv
 - arrival in Utah, xxii-xxiii
 - school teacher, 85, 102
 - ecclesiastical life
 - mission to England (1886-88), xxv-xxvi, xxxvi, 224, 306
 - preaching and lecturing, 8, 9-10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 48, 57, 58, 61, 62, 68, 70, 72, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 88, 90, 92, 94, 109, 110, 124, 127-28, 135, 146, 149, 159, 160, 161-62, 166, 167, 170, 178, 179, 181, 201, 206, 215, 217, 218, 243, 250, 253, 257, 266-67, 269, 274, 289, 291, 293, 294, 295-96, 297, 299, 303, 305, 306, 309, 311, 314, 316, 317, 318
 - president of Tennessee Mission Conference, 49, 73
 - return home from missions to

- Tennessee (1882), 96, 101;
(1883), 144; (1884), 162
- Salt Lake Temple dedication,
281-86, 299, 303
- Southern States Mission coun-
selor, 103, 105-06
- YMMIA mission (1885), 163-83
- family life
 - finances, 208-09, 210, 220, 243,
252, 297, 299, 304, 306, 307,
310
 - house in Centerville, 102, 106,
294, 295
 - relationship with father-in-law,
xxiv
 - view of women, xvii
- health and habits, xviii, 14, 16, 18,
22, 23, 32-33, 43, 47, 75, 76, 83,
93, 97, 142-43, 158-59, 161, 194,
245, 246
 - alcohol, xviii, xxiv-xxv, xxxiv-xxxv,
13, 25, 142, 194, 319
 - coffee, xxviii
 - depression and moods, xv, xviii,
156, 157, 166, 269, 294, 309,
319
 - personal characteristics, 44, 67,
74, 82, 88, 102-03, 147, 150,
248, 268, 298-99
- intellectual life, xvi, xx, xxv, xxxvi,
82, 83, 157, 210, 211, 276, 278,
294, 305, 309, 310, 313, 316, 319
 - chess, xvi, 310, 312, 313, 317,
318, 320
 - church history, 166-67, 268, 279,
286, 288, 294, 296
 - Latin, 319, 320
 - poetry, 174, 177, 179-80
 - reading habits, xxxv, 79, 82, 83,
147, 153, 216, 217, 266, 273,
278, 305, 312, 313
 - views on ethnicity, xxxvii-xxxviii,
9, 109-10, 262-63, 264-65
 - writings, xvi, vxiii, 10, 16, 88, 119,
120, 152, 169, 174, 181, 201,
204, 205, 208, 213, 215, 217,
219, 223, 232-33, 240, 242, 243,
266, 307
 - political life, xxvi, xl, 102, 203,
208, 230-31, 233, 234, 236,
238-39, 240, 242, 280-81, 298
 - prosecution for polygamy, 165,
185
 - Utah Constitutional Convention,
xxvi
 - views on constitutional rights, 125
 - views on labor unions, 299-300
 - theological views
 - Bible, 89, 294
 - Book of Mormon, xix, 15-16, 19,
79, 159, 160, 215, 294, 307,
309, 312
 - Christian denominations, 75, 87,
128
 - dreams and their interpretation,
xxxiii-xxxiv, 12, 45, 58, 127,
151-52, 239, 257-58, 270, 294
 - “false lights,” 232, 234, 236
 - morality, 107
 - plural marriage, xxvi, xxxviii-
xxxix, xl, 150, 223-27, 279
 - Satan, 126, 232
 - Second Coming, 80
 - spiritualism, 286, 300
- Roberts, Celia Dibble, xxv, xxix, xxi,
xxxix, 168, 171, 185, 212, 213, 217,
218, 244-45, 246, 250, 251, 252, 253,
282, 296, 305, 312, 313, 314, 319
- Roberts, David, xxix
- Roberts, Georgiana, xxix
- Roberts, Harold, xxix, 216, 245, 306
- Roberts, Hazel, xxix, 305
- Roberts, Hortense, xxix, 278
- Roberts, Joanna, xxix
- Roberts, Katharine, xxix
- Roberts, Lawrence, xxix
- Roberts, Lena, xxix, 296, 306
- Roberts, Louisa E., xxix, 278, 284, 286,
288, 309
- Roberts, Luna, xxix, 218, 278

- Roberts, Margaret Shipp, xxv, xxix-xxx, xxxix, xl, 222, 241, 243, 247, 248, 257-58, 279, 282, 284, 286, 294, 295, 309, 318
- Roberts, Mary C., 216
- Roberts, Mary "Polly," xxii, xxiii, 170, 180
- Roberts, Naola, xxix
- Roberts, Orville Clark, 216
- Roberts, Sarah Louisa, xxv, xxix, xxxii-xxxiii, xxxix, 11, 13, 33, 34, 40, 70, 76, 97, 101, 105, 128, 146, 150, 151, 168, 176, 182, 183, 185, 205, 207, 210, 218, 268, 281, 294, 301, 304, 309, 310, 311, 314, 317, 318, 319
- Roberts, Thomas (brother), xxi
- Roberts, Thomas (son), xxix
- Robinson, Charles E., 143
- Robson, Charles I., 272-73, 274
- Rockport, Tennessee, 113
- Rogers, Henry C., 273
- Rome, Georgia, 123
- Romney, Miles P., 262
- Ross, James A., 140
- Roylance, William M., 311
- Rucker, M. L., 42
- Rutherford County, Tennessee, 35, 40, 73, 77, 79
- Rydalch, William M., 86, 87, 119
- Sacramento, California, 277
- Safford, Arizona, 271
- Sagebrush Glee club, 297
- Salida, Colorado, 111, 244, 249, 305, 307
- Salina, Utah, 308
- Salisbury, Margaret, 211
- Salt Lake City, 73, 144, 150, 162, 168, 169, 208, 218, 221, 228, 229, 234, 235, 241, 242, 244, 278, 291, 294, 295, 296, 307, 309, 311, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318
- wards (14th), 320; (16th), 304, 309; (22nd), 319; (30th), xxix
- Salt Lake, Hot Springs & Bountiful Motor Railroad, 304
- Salt Lake Herald, The*, xvi, xxv, 185, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 242
- Salt Lake-Ogden Railroad, 310, 311, 317, 319
- Salt Lake Stake, 221
- Salt Lake Stake Academy, *see* Latter-day Saints College
- Salt Lake Tabernacle, 305, 316, 317
- Salt Lake Temple, 244, 271, 283, 294, 296
- dedication of, 1893, 281-86, 299
- Salt Lake Theater, 168, 210
- Salt Lake Tribune, The*, 244
- Salt Lake Valley, 244
- San Antoine River, 109
- San Francisco, California, 275, 277
- San Francisco Examiner*, 277
- San Joaquin Valley, 275
- San Juan Stake, 212, 213
- San Lorenzo, Mexico, 263
- San Luis Stake (Colorado), 108, 151, 241, 251, 252, 253
- legal and political controversy, 1893, 245, 246, 247, 248, 252
- San Luis Valley, xxxvii, 109, 110, 233
- Sanders, Irving, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 33, 38, 46, 49, 77, 80, 99, 139
- Sanders, James, 33, 34, 80
- Sanders, John, 11, 15, 99
- Sanders, Thomas, 27
- Sanders Mills, Tennessee, 32
- Sanford, Colorado, 248
- Sanpete County, Utah, 176, 178, 182, 318

- Sanpete Stake, 181, 292
- Sanpete Stake Academy, 318
- Santa Fe, New Mexico, 253, 254
- Santa Fe Railway, 151, 156, 254
- Santaquin, Utah, 174
- Saunders, Alvin, 211
- Savage, Herbert, 291
- Scoles, Hannah Britten, 298, 299
- Scoles, Marion E., 298, 299
- Scott, Sir Walter, 188, 195, 197
- Scrapbook: B. H. Roberts*, xxi
- Seal Rock (San Francisco), 276, 277
- Seaman, George A., 289
- Sedgwick, Richard, 303
- Sego, William, 67, 68
- Semi-Weekly Herald, The*, (Salt Lake City), 203, 204, 207, 210, 212, 216, 217, 219, 223
- Senoia, Georgia, 123
- Sessions, Perrigrine, 302
- Seventy, The*, 294-95, 297, 301, 304
- Seventy's Room (Salt Lake Temple), 278-79, 294, 296, 310
- Severson family (Iowa), 3, 4
- Sevey, George W., 261
- Sevier County, Utah, 307
- Shady Grove, Tennessee (Coffee County), 8
- Shady Grove, Tennessee (Hickman County), 30-31, 50, 53, 56, 70, 72, 75, 76, 77, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 88, 91, 93, 94, 97, 117
- Shady Grove Branch (Hickman County), 30
- Shanghi, Tennessee, 64
- Shawneetown, Illinois, 160
- Shiloh, Tennessee, 64
- Shiloh Cemetery, 65
- Shipp, Margaret Curtis, *see* Roberts, Margaret Shipp
- Shipp, Milford B., xxix
- Silver, William, 244
- Silver Brothers Company, 244
- Simpson County, Kentucky, 113, 114
- Sioux City, Iowa, 6
- Skinner, George W., 273
- Smith, Albert, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 252, 305
- Smith, Charles L., 281
- Smith, Elias A., 213
- Smith, Emeline L. (BHR's mother-in-law), xxix
- Smith, Gary, xxviii
- Smith, Harvey W., 235-36
- Smith, Hyrum, 293
- Smith, Jesse M., 137
- Smith, Jesse N., 257, 267
- Smith, John (Centerville), 99
- Smith, John (Presiding Patriarch), xxviii, 296
- Smith, John Fewson, 255
- Smith, John Henry, xxxix, 224, 225, 230, 231, 232, 235, 236, 239, 240, 242, 245, 280, 305, 306, 307, 314
- Smith, Joseph (church founder), 26, 75, 267, 283, 293
- prophecies of, 112, 168-69
- and sacramental wine, 283
- Smith, Joseph (BHR's brother-in-law), 37, 39, 135, 136, 143-44, 168
- Smith, Joseph III, 228
- Smith, Joseph F., xxvii, 87, 101, 208, 232, 233, 236, 237, 239, 240, 242, 286, 288, 300, 304, 305, 318
- and vision of the Savior, 283
- and Prophet Joseph Smith, 300
- Smith, Josephine, 245, 246, 250, 252, 306
- Smith, "Kentucky," *see* Smith, Harvey W.

- Smith, Mary E., 101
- Smith, Sarah Louisa, *see* Roberts, Sarah Louisa
- Smith, Silas S., 108, 109, 159, 161, 162, 213, 216, 245, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 267, 306, 307
- Smith, William (brother of Joseph Smith), 23
- Smith, William C., 101
- Smith, William R. (BHR's father-in-law), xxix, 16, 101, 106, 149, 168-69
- Smoot, Abraham O., 172
- Smyrna, Tennessee, 34, 35, 139
- Snow, Alphonzo H., 29, 32, 33, 37, 38, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 54, 56, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 85, 86, 87, 88, 98, 99
- Snow, Erastus, 105, 146
- Snow, Lorenzo, xxvii, 146, 205, 239, 240, 285
- Snowflake, Arizona, 257, 267
- South Carolina, 124, 125, 143
- South Carolina Mission Conference, 126
- South Cottonwood, Utah, 166
- South Cottonwood Ward, 167
- Southern Pacific Railroad, 266, 268, 274
- Southern States Mission, 3, 102, 103, 105, 111, 148, 150, 151, 157-58, 166, 246, 318
- Spanish Fork, Utah, 307, 316
- Sparks, Noel, 7, 8
- Spence, Robert, 52, 55, 58, 60, 61, 62, 71, 73, 89, 91, 95, 96
- Spence, William C., 247, 250, 253
- Spencer, Franklin, 18
- spiritualism, 292, 300
- Spring City, Utah, 179, 181, 318
- Spring Creek, Tennessee, xxxiv, 54, 55, 59, 96
- Spring Glen, Utah, 291
- Springville, Alabama, 119
- Springville, Utah, 171, 172, 311
- St. George, Utah, 223
- St. James Hotel (St. Louis), 4
- St. John's Arizona, 266, 267
- St. Louis, Missouri, 4, 100, 152
- Staines, William C., 34
- Standard Dictionary Committee, 288, 292
- Standing, Joseph, 122
- Stantonville, Tennessee, 65, 66
- Statesville, Tennessee, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44, 46
- Stayner, Arthur, 290
- Stayner, Charles, 290
- Stevenson, Adlai, 233
- Stirling, Scotland, 196
- Stirling Castle, 196
- Stoker, David, 304, 318
- Stone Fort, Tennessee, 22-23
- Storrs, Joseph H., 311
- Streeper, William H., Jr., 303
- Streeper, William H., Sr., 210
- Stringtown, Tennessee, 29
- Stronachlachar Hotel (Scotland), 195
- Studies in Mormon History*, 1830-1997, xxi
- Styler, John, 147
- Summerhays, Joseph W., 221, 223
- Sutter's Fort, 277
- Sutter's Mill, 277
- Swensson, August, 307
- Sylvester, James, 197
- Talley, Joicy, 91
- Tally, Mason J., 58, 90, 95
- Talmage, James E., 288, 292, 312
- Tarbet, Scotland, 195

INDEX

- Taylor, Frank Y., 183, 221, 222, 223, 312
- Taylor, J. W., 36, 37
- Taylor, James A., 116, 136, 137, 166
- Taylor, John, xxvii, 105, 145, 146, 148, 157, 158, 162, 164, 166, 176, 183, 220
- Taylor, John W., xxxix, 51, 52, 58, 70, 72, 74, 92, 146, 176, 220, 221, 224, 225, 234, 312-13
- Taylor, M. W., 11, 13, 17, 27, 35, 45
- Taylor, Margaret Y., 183
- Taylor, Sophronia, 176
- Taylor, William, 166
- Teasdale, Etta Picton, 260, 261
- Teasdale, George, 186, 187, 252, 260, 261, 280, 287, 294
- Tempe, Arizona, 272
- Temple, Georgia, 124
- Tennessee Mission Conference, 31, 49, 73, 94
- Tennessee River, 52, 61, 63, 65, 89, 90
- Thatcher, Arizona, 268
- Thatcher, Joseph W., 30, 57, 58, 59, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 73
- Thatcher, Moses, 230, 231, 232, 233, 237, 238-39, 240, 242, 292, 297-98, 299, 300
- Thayne, Edgar H., 290
- Thomas, Joseph F., 247, 251, 253
- Thomas, Mathoniah, 311
- Thompson, Robert, 116
- Thorne, James T., 170, 171
- Thurber, Albert D., 50, 74
- Times and Seasons*, 23, 96
- Todd, Douglas M., 316, 320
- Totty, Frank, 84, 108
- Totty, William, 84, 93
- Totty family, 88
- Totty's Bend, Tennessee, 53, 76, 84, 93
- Tovey, Mr. and Mrs., xxii, xxxiv, xxxv
- Townsend, J. L., 173
- Trent River (England), 188
- Trossach's Hotel (Scotland), 195
- Trotter, John, 64
- Trotter, Sarah J., 64
- The Truth, The Way, The Life*, xviii, xx, xxvi
- Tullahoma, Tennessee, 4, 5, 21
- Udall, David K., 257
- Unicoi County, Tennessee, 98
- Union City, Tennessee, 5
- Union Fort, Utah, 167
- Union Pacific Railroad, 100, 106
- University of Deseret, xxv
- Utah Central Railroad, 100
- Utah Commission, 211
- Utah County, 230
- Utah politics, 227-40
- Utah (County) Stake, 221, 223, 233
- Utah Territorial Prison, xxvi
- Van Zile, Philip T., 102
- Vander Cook, Oscar, 185
- Vaughan, Richard D., 80, 116
- Vaughan, S. C., 48, 98, 115
- Veal, Andrew, 66
- Vickers, John, 287
- Virginia, 112, 156, 173
- Virginia Mission Conference, 131
- Wabash Railroad, 156
- Waddoups, Thomas, 149
- Wales, Utah, 178
- Walker, Ronald W., xxi
- Wall, Alonzo E., 174
- Walsh, Henry, 187
- War Hill, North Carolina, 131-32

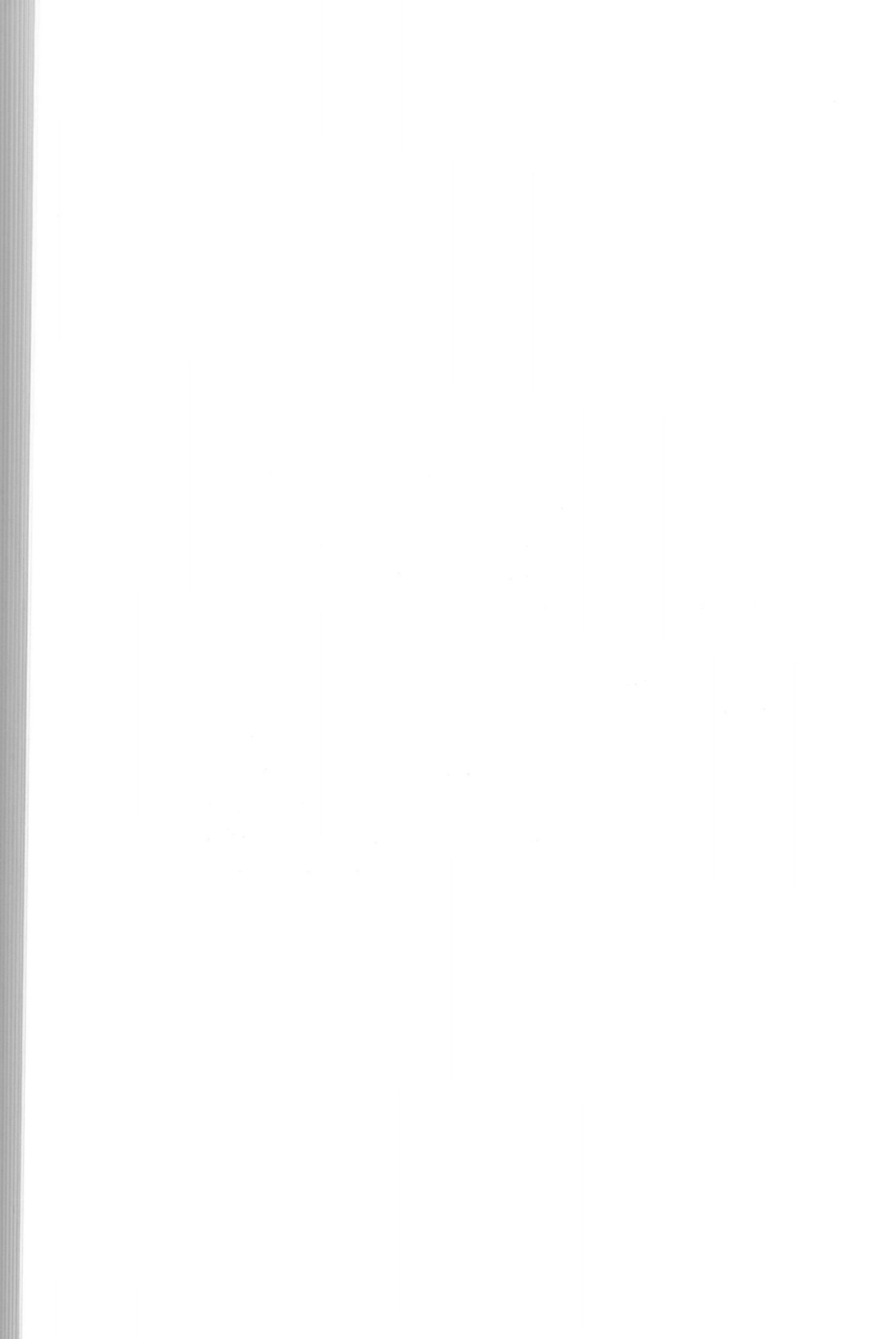
- Warrington, Elijah, 62
Warrington, England, xxi, 187
Wartrace, Tennessee, 20, 24, 29
Waverly, Tennessee, 117
Wayne County, Tennessee, 55, 57, 58, 64, 73, 89, 117
Waynesboro, Tennessee, 69, 71, 94
Weaver, John W., 127
Weaver, Sarah, 127
Webb, William F., 190
Weber County, Utah, 214
Weber Stake, 221, 233
Weems, Walter, xxxiv, 54, 59
Welling, Franklin D., 207
Wells, Gershom B. F., 164
Wells, Joseph S., 187, 188, 189
Wells, Junius F., xxix, 163, 164, 168, 169, 186
Wells, Rulon S., 297
West, Caleb, 308
West Jordan, Utah, 167
West Tennessee Mission Conference, 95-96, 99, 117
Westbrooks, James, 71
Western & Atlantic Railroad, 133
Wheelock, Cyrus, 181, 293
Whitaker, John M., 145, 247, 301, 304
Whitaker's Station, South Carolina, 124-25, 127
White, William H., 131
Whitney, Newell S., 140
Whitney, Orson F., 290
Whittaker, David J., xxi
Whitten Stand, Tennessee, 64, 66
Whitthorne, William C., 70
Whitworth, James R., 81, 93
Wildman, Thomas, 190
Willey, Joseph, 125
Willey, William W., 302
Williams, George W., 270
Wilson, Guy C., 179
Wilson, Orson M., 121, 124
Wilson County, Tennessee, 8, 9, 11, 24, 28, 32, 33-35, 73, 77, 116, 143
Winder, John R., 283
wine, sacramental use of, 283
Winston, North Carolina, 129, 131, 132
Wood, James G., 136
Wood, William B. Jr., 191, 193, 201
Woodburn, Kentucky, 114
Woodbury, George J., 144
Woodruff, Wilford, xxvii, xxxix, 101, 117, 145, 146, 208, 224, 226, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 242, 279, 280, 282, 285, 292, 304
— and vision of Joseph Smith, 285
— and power of Satan, 285
Woodruff Manifesto, 224-27, 279
Woods Cross, Utah, 205
Woody, Joshua A., 62, 91
Woolley, Amy, 210
Woolley, John E., 136, 137
Woolley, John W., 149
Woolley, Mary E., *see* Clark, Mary W.
World's Fair, 1892 (Chicago), 300, 303
Young, Brigham, xxvii, xxix, 113, 258, 314
Young, Brigham, Jr., 280
Young, John W., 255, 258
Young, Royal B., 221
Young, Seymour B., 221, 234, 238, 239, 241, 242, 279, 280, 296, 303
Young Ladies Department of the Co-operative Retrenchment Association, xxix
Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association, 260, 315

INDEX

- Young Mens Club of Centerville, xxv — General Board, 310, 318, 320
Young Men's Mutual Improvement As- — Manual Committee, 1898-99, 320
sociation, xxv, xxix, 150, 258, 260,
310, 311, 315,
— Davis County, 94, 102
- Zundel, Issac, 269, 271-72
Zwingli, Ulrich, 225

About the Editor

John Sillito is Archivist, Curator of Special Collections, and Professor of Libraries at Weber State University (Ogden, Utah), where he was named the Nye Honors Professor of the Year for 2002. He is the editor of *The Wilderness of Faith: Essays on Contemporary Mormon Thought*; co-editor of *Letters from Exile: The Correspondence of Martha Hughes Cannon and Angus M. Cannon, 1886-1888*; *Mormon Mavericks: Essays on Dissenters*; and *A World We Thought We Knew: Readings in Utah History*. He is a contributor to several edited collections, including *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History*; *Expectations for the Millennium: American Socialist Visions of the Future*; *Socialism and Christianity in Early Twentieth-Century America*; and *The Utah History Encyclopedia*. His many professional activities include currently serving on the board of editors of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*.



History's Apprentice:
The Diaries of B. H. Roberts

Designed by Ray Morales

**Composed by Connie Disney
in Baskerville**

Maps by Connie Disney

**Printed by Artistic Printing
on Hammermill Accent Opaque Smooth**

**Hand-bound by Evermind Bindery
in Joanna Aristox B
with Simpson Filare end sheets**

June 1, 1901

Dear Mr. [Name]

I have your letter of the 28th

and am glad to hear from you

and hope you are well

I am very truly yours

[Signature]

[Address]

[City]

[State]

[Country]

ingaged in.
out of respect for
how any taste I
I was bound out
years as an ap
smith trade;
ambition to exc